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**"I HAVE TWO HOMES" AN INVESTIGATION INTO
THE TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY OF KENYAN
MIGRANTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (UK) AND
HOW THIS RELATES TO THEIR WELLBEING**

A thesis submitted to Middlesex University in partial
fulfilment to the requirement for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

JANE WANGARURO

School of Health and Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

Background

The incorporation of migrants in the host country is an on-going debate in many countries. While assimilation theories were prevalent in earlier times before the era of what is commonly referred to as globalization as explanations of migrants' integration, ethnic pluralist theories including multiculturalism are currently being employed. These theories, however present challenges for current migrants' incorporation in the host country because they do not regard migrants' transnationalism. Transnational identity and how it relates to migrants' wellbeing in the host country remain under-researched and it is the concern of this study.

Aims of the study

The aims of this study were to:

- ◆ Investigate the impact of transnational identity on the subjective wellbeing of Kenyan migrants in the UK. This is achieved through a critical examination of the relationship between the support they provide to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya and how this impacts on their wellbeing.
- ◆ Identify indicators of subjective wellbeing related to transnational identity

Methodology

A mixed method approach was used and data was collected through two stages. The first stage used a survey, carried out to map out the study by establishing the occurrence of support provision among Kenyans. Survey questionnaires were used for this stage. The second stage employed the use of semi-structured interviews and participant observation as data collection instruments.

Participants

During the survey, 96 participants (n=96) participated. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 participants. Three community events were observed, two of them were '*harambees*', which are fundraising events organised to raise money for an ill relative in Kenya and one was a '*ngwataniro*', which is a prayer meeting organized to pray for an ill relative in Kenya.

Results and data analysis

The survey data was analyzed using computer software, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and a report was compiled.

Colaizzi's framework was used for the initial analysis of the semi-structured interviews' data and participant observation data. The data was sorted out and major categories and sub-categories were identified using computer software (NUD*IST), and these were then examined further. The major themes were; transnational identity; belonging; giving; and wellbeing.

The results highlighted that migrants construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity thorough provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya. This enables them to maintain links with their friends and relatives, further enhancing their wellbeing in their country of settlement, the UK.

Discussion

Transnational identity which is practiced by migrants and reflected among other things through maintenance of links with their families and friends in their home country is linked to migrants' wellbeing in the host country.

Conclusion

The results from this study have generated an understanding of how migrants construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity, which is explored in this study through provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya. The evidence in this research that transnational identity leads to enhanced wellbeing of migrants is a good base for policy makers to consider including transnational perspectives in social integration policies. Recommended research areas should allow additional investigation in transnational identity and how it impacts on health among migrants.

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to my late parents, Josphat Irura and Gladys Warindi Irura. It is through their guidance and motivation that I first built a great desire to learn and attend school and this is the foundation upon which the work of this thesis lies. I also dedicate this work to my loving husband Peter Wangaruro and our two sons, Reuben and Caldavis. Their enormous support has led to the accomplishment of this work.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to describe an ethnographic study exploring the transnational identity of Kenyan migrants in the United Kingdom, henceforth UK, through the support they provide to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya and to examine how this relates to their wellbeing. By employing the use of mixed methods approach which is predominantly qualitative, this study is undertaken in two stages. During the first stage, preliminary data was collected through a mapping exercise which was carried out using a survey approach in order to establish basic pertinent issues related to provision of support, transnational identity and wellbeing among Kenyan migrants in the UK. Data collected through the survey was used together with information gathered through the review of literature to inform the formulation of an interview guide which was then used in the second and major stage of this study. The second stage involved collection of data through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. In the view that literature relating to Kenyan migrants in terms of support provision, transnational identity and wellbeing was scarce, it was necessary to employ the use of a mixed method approach. While the survey informed the formulation of the semi-structured interview guide, the semi-structured interviews and participant observation were necessary to collect data that relates to the migrants' perceptions on how they construct transnational identity through providing support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya, their motivations of providing support and how this relates to their wellbeing while residing in the host country. In essence the maintenance of links with home country by migrants is explored and its relationship to migrants' wellbeing examined.

Migrants' integration in host countries is a field of study that merits research in the current times because of the significant changes that have accompanied

migration flows in terms of both numbers and direction. These changes are mostly attributed to globalization which has resulted in advancement in communication and other technology. This implies that unlike the era before the twenty first century, migrants today are in a position to maintain links on a daily basis with family and friends in their home country. Their identity is therefore a product of both the home and the host country, which therefore means that they exhibit characteristics spanning multiple national boundaries. Few studies have focused on how migrants construct their identity through links maintenance with their home country and how this relates to their wellbeing. Building on theories of transnational identity and wellbeing, this thesis examines how Kenyan migrants in the UK maintain links with their chronically ill relatives in Kenya through provision of support and demonstrates how this impacts on their subjective wellbeing. Furthermore by employing the use of the gift exchange theory, the thesis explores the motivations behind provision of support by migrants in order to establish how this influences participants' identity construction and maintenance.

This chapter outlines the rationale and background of this study including a section on the ethno history of Kenya which is included in order to contextualize the study.

1.1 RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND FOR THE CURRENT STUDY

1.1.1 Self reflection

In detailing the developments of every stage of this study, I want to acknowledge that I am doing so from the perspective of being a Kenyan migrant in the UK. I am married to a Kenyan who is a High School teacher by profession. He is also a pastor in a church in the UK, the majority of whose members are Kenyans. Additionally we are both trustees of a community based

charity organisation that deals with diverse aspects of family. Some of the services offered through this organisation are seminars to encourage community members to continue upholding strong family values and especially Christian values, seminars to enlighten migrants about the British system of education and youth seminars. As a family, we are involved in providing support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya. Additionally we take part in both organising and participating in '*harambees*' which are fundraising events and '*ngwataniro*' which are fellowships also known as prayer meetings organized to raise funds for the same purpose and/or to pray with Kenyan migrants who have chronically ill relatives in Kenya. I would therefore say that I have been closely and practically linked to the issues related to this study.

This topic of study originated with my Director of Studies as a departmental project open for PhD research and my interest in it was influenced by my own experiences as a migrant and my professional background, having undertaken migration studies during a demography course for my masters program. I have been a migrant in two countries, first in South Africa while pursuing my post graduate studies and now in the UK. Issues related to migrants' integration regardless of the host country are usually very complex for an outsider to grasp and form a great deal of the migrants' day to day life in the host country. It has always fascinated me how I, like other migrants continuously felt the desire to keep links with family and friends back in Kenya. While I always took these links for granted, I did not know that they had any relationship to my wellbeing and to my adaptation in the countries in which I had been a migrant. This study has enabled me to have a wider perspective and a better understanding of issues that have often occupied me on a day to day basis. Being a member and a leader in the Kenyan community in the UK enhanced my entrance into the field of investigation and enabled me to collect valuable data. I have to acknowledge however that this level of involvement means that I cannot claim objectivity as many of the stages of this research were influenced by this position which I hold among Kenyans. My thesis is presented as a combination

of '*emic*' and '*etic*' perspectives, for instance as a migrant I have my own views relating to support provision and to maintenance of links with relatives in Kenya. During the course of the study, I did not allow this to be the driving force which implies that I had moments of personal reflection in order to allow the perceptions of the participants to have room. I have explained these views in detail in the methodology chapter.

1.1.2 *Purpose of the study*

There has been great concern in the way migrants are incorporated into host countries. This varies from country to country and has taken different styles at different times. Different theories have been used to explain the different scenarios with one major theory prevalent before the era of globalization being assimilation.

Assimilation theories hold that migrants are able to forget and put behind them their different cultures and adopt the culture of the host country. Advocates of assimilation theories like Gordon (1964) were criticized because they appear to view culture as a thing that can be put on and off at any time and to use Faist's (2000a, p204) terms they view it as a '*baggage*' that can be picked up and put down. Additionally these theories were criticized for laying more emphasis on the culture of the host country far above that of the migrants. Assimilation theories later gave way to multiculturalism.

The model of incorporating migrants in the UK since the 1960s has been multiculturalism according to Parekh (1999, 2000) who further asserts that multiculturalism means having an environment where the sense of belonging is experienced whilst migrants do not have to put away their cultural values, although they are required to be loyal to the host country. Immigrant communities under this model have the right to express themselves as they wish, for instance to worship whatever religion they want and protect their ethnic and religious identity through practicing their customs and values

(Hadjigeorgiou and Simsek, 2008). Multiculturalism therefore argues the need for commitment of the political community of the host country to promote a sense of belonging among all its citizens. The original intentions of multiculturalism were for different communities to positively interact and affect each other while at the same time enjoying the practice of their cultural values. Loyalty to a single nation state however was at the core of the views of multiculturalism.

It is against this background that current scholars (Vertovec, 2004; Vertovec, 2001; Portes, 2001) argue that migrants' incorporation into the host country cannot wholly be explained through the theories of assimilation and multiculturalism. This is because culture and its associated concepts are not territorial and static as these theories seem to suggest. These scholars therefore advocate that there is a need to put into consideration the issues of transnational ties in immigrants' integration. They argue that the modern activities of migrants in transnational social spaces suggest that loyalty can be to more than one country, making identities and day to day activities to span the boundaries of more than one country. Pennix and co-researchers (2008) assert that this '*dual state membership*' does not mean that borders and nation-states do not exist but as Faist (2006) puts it, it simply recognizes the increasing possibility of membership in two states. Elsewhere, Gustafson (2002) argues that given the contemporary circumstances of migrants there should be a model of incorporation that acknowledges multiple identities as opposed to what Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) calls the '*straight jacket*' in reference to the nation-state model.

Transnationalism appears to be the framework suggested to allow current migrants to be incorporated in the host country, with the extent and manner of adaptation being dependent on the attitudes of both migrants and the host country. Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton (1994) hold that an understanding of contemporary migration including integration processes will only be achieved if

the power, weight and effect of the cross border ties are thoroughly explored. Other factors influencing adaptation are language fluency, migration status, poverty, employment and accommodation (Taylor, 2006). Adaptation is further determined by rules for formal access to citizenship which are highly complicated and vary between countries. In the UK, Flynn (2008) argues that migration policy is often deterrent and restrictive, for instance the current migration policy favours economic migrants who possess given skills over and above asylum seekers especially from the third world countries. Additionally current migrants' incorporation in the UK is through '*earned citizenship*' which raises many questions about how it differs from assimilation. Earned citizenship is the requirement by government for migrants to prove their level of integration in the UK before becoming citizens. This is through increased English tests, proof that one is well integrated through community involvement and an increase in the duration of time required before one can apply for citizenship (Kyambi, 2008).

While migrants in earlier centuries were studied through the eye of assimilation, the behaviour of current migrants demands new concepts. This has led scholars to study them through multiculturalism (Parekh, 1999; Vertovec, 2001) first, thus emphasizing the need for commitment of the political community to promote a sense of belonging among all its' citizens. Additionally through transnationalism which concentrates on exploring how migrants manage lives that are spread in more than one country as Basch and colleagues assert (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton, 1994). Wright (2007) however asserts that a gap exists in scholarship in the area of how migrants construct their promotion of wellbeing in their day to day lives. This is echoed by Gastaldo and colleagues (2005, p2) who hold that although migrants' wellbeing may partly be explained through regional or national policies, which implies the use of nation-state model, depending wholly on this kind of examination loses the transnational wellbeing promotion experience of many migrants which

according to them, *'includes caring and being cared for across borders and international support networks'*.

The current study goes beyond multiculturalism and general transnationalism to explore migrants' construction of transnational identity through provision of support to chronically ill relatives. A wellbeing approach to migration studies (Wright, 2007) is employed in this study to call attention to areas that have not been fully studied but which matter to migrants including; transnational exchange, norms, values, behaviour and social networks. Additionally, this approach explores migrants' own assessment of their wellbeing and the resources they need to achieve this. This approach does not aim to counter notions of multiculturalism and the earlier views of transnationalism approaches but rather to reinforce them through consideration of transnational identity and wellbeing from the view point of migrants.

Little is known about issues relating to Kenyan migrants in the UK. This is because this group is under researched. Concerning issues to do with transnationalism and specifically transnational identity, this is an emerging area of study and most of the original work was done in the United States (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Levitt, 1996), although recently this area of study has attracted scholars from UK (Wright, 2007; Goulbourne, 2002), but still little has featured in terms of transnational identity among African migrants in UK. Further more studies on the construction of wellbeing by migrants are emerging (Wright, 2007) and this study builds on and adds to the existing literature.

1.1.3 Aims of the study

Migrants' incorporation into host countries is an issue that has been studied widely resulting in diverse frameworks depending on different periods of time. While assimilation theories were prevalent before the era of globalization, multiculturalism and transnationalism theories accompany globalization.

Contemporary migration scholars (Vertovec, 1999) however argue there is need for development of new concepts in order to accommodate current migrants whose behaviour span multiple boundaries. Transnational identity and wellbeing approaches are some of those concepts that endeavour to explore how migrants construct, nurture and maintain identity and wellbeing in their day to day lives. This study aims to investigate the increasing complexity and importance of transnational identity through the experiences of Kenyan migrants living in the UK. The following are the specific aims:

1. To investigate the impact of transnational identity on the subjective wellbeing of Kenyan migrants in the UK. This is achieved through a critical examination of the relationship between the support they provide to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya and how this impacts on their wellbeing.
2. To identify indicators of subjective wellbeing related to transnational identity

1.1.4 Research questions

The above aims are investigated by conducting ethnographic research to answer the following research questions;

1. What are the forms of support that migrants provide to their relatives in Kenya who have chronic illnesses?
2. How do migrants understand the nature of the support they provide?
3. Does provision of support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya by migrants facilitate the maintenance of transnational identity?
4. What impact does provision of support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya have on the wellbeing of migrants?

It is intended that this study will be instrumental in clarifying issues surrounding transnationalism and transnational identity which are important elements of international migration in the twenty first century. Consequently this study is

meant to shed light on the link between transnational identity and migrants' wellbeing. Wright (2007) asserts that this is an under researched area in migration studies which warrants research. It is intended that the results of this study will be useful to health practitioners and policy makers in the UK and other countries while dealing with issues related to wellbeing of African migrants in general and specifically migrants from Kenya.

1.2 DEFINITION OF SOME TERMS

Since these terms will repeatedly be used through out this thesis it is important for the reader to have insight into how they are defined and used in this study. The terms defined are; migrants, transnationalism, identity, transnational identity, wellbeing, and giving.

1.2.1 *Migrants*

There have been discussions among many scholars about the issue of forced migrants as opposed to voluntary migrants (Turton, 2003; Miller, Muzurovic, Worthington, Tipping, and Goldman, 2002). Migrants generally refer to people in a given country, who were born outside of that country. This, however, is debatable in current times because many children born to migrants in the country of settlement continue to be referred to as first, second or third generation migrants when one would expect they are citizens or nationals of the country of settlement, where they were born. In the UK migrants form a significant proportion of the total population. They are very diverse and are located in different parts of the country (Carballo and Mboup, 2005).

For the purposes of this study, the term '*Kenyan migrants*' is used and participants recruited include Kenyan migrants in the UK who have one or more of the following: citizenship, indefinite leave to remain, work permits, and student visas. More details on criteria for selecting participants are given in the methodology chapter.

1.2.2 Transnationalism

Traditional migration theory, for instance assimilation, as Basch and colleagues (1994) argue, usually informed by and developed in service of the nation state viewed migrants as people who either left (emigrants) or settled (immigrants). Basch and her colleagues however further suggest that transmigrants should be seen "*as migrants who develop and maintain multiple relationships – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders.*" (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc, 1994, p7) This latter view which led to the development of transnational theory helps in overcoming the problem of the earlier theories thus enabling the capturing of migrants' multiple attachments more realistically. This is how, according to Basch and co-researchers (1994, p7) the concept of '*immigrant transnationalism*' entered the migration scholarship, and this implies that existence of transnational elements deviates from these earlier models of migration.

The earlier models of migration usually allowed migrants to settle in the host country and consequently cut links with their home countries. In the contemporary age of migration "*transmigrants ... maintain, build, and reinforce multiple linkages with their countries of origin*" (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc, 1995, p52). Under such circumstances, the notion of home is expanded to encompass both here and there. According to Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) such a essential transformation means totally new terms and Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Szanton-Blanc (1992) suggested that transnationalism to signify the social links connecting host and home countries and '*transmigrants*' are the individuals who ensure the continuity of those links.

1.2.3 Identity

Generally, identity signifies: '*similarity*', '*uniqueness*' and '*distinctiveness*'. This means identity portrays one as similar to others in a group, with unique or distinctive characteristics. Woodward (2000, 2002) argues that identity as an issue requires one to be actively involved or engaged. This implies actively

taking up identity. The identities people possess usually result from a combination of the circumstances under which people live and the relationships they maintain with others and it is identity that links people to their world. Furthermore, identity is about self perception and how one is perceived by others. Some of the important symbols in marking out identity are; language, accent, clothes, food, practices and rites. Woodward (2000) also asserts that place is significant in identity and that people usually bring in the use of place in terms of '*residence*', '*local area*' and '*nationality*' in reference to their identity.

1.2.4 *Transnational identity*

Scholars in transnationalism have not quite established a clear definition of transnational identity. This may be due to the assertion by scholars that a transnational arm of migration is a new field of study (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). Furthermore transnational identity is an under researched area of transnational migration (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002) thus varied views are to be expected.

Transnational identity in this study refers to a way of living that characterizes some migrants, and which reflects their desire, and longing of association with the way of life and the place of their home country while at the same time upholding new roles acquired in the host country. Transnational identity will therefore denote hybridity (Basch et al., 1994), which is the use of cultural values drawn from two or more nations in the day-to-day life and the two nations here are Kenya and the UK. Transnational identity will also denote '*ways of being*' and '*ways of belonging*' (Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004). This implies the ways in which individuals represent themselves and also their collective (group) representation or identity.

In their work on transnational identity, Haller and Landolt (2005) studied adult children of migrants in Miami using secondary data. They considered the various connections these children uphold in relation to their parents' homeland

and how these links impact on the identity formed by these migrants. They did this by analyzing how parents' socialized their children, and adult children's report regarding their ethnic and/national identity. Additionally, the resources that children of immigrants employ to counter experiences of racism, marginalization and segmented labour market are explored. This was done by considering how resources circulated among both parents and children and the mode of socialization used by the parents that may impact on bi-cultural views linked to belonging.

The issues discussed by Haller and Landolt (2005) provide a point of reference for studying Kenyan migrants in the UK. Although the Kenyan group is not based on adult children of migrants but on first generation migrants, this framework is important in studying the attachments that Kenyan migrants have in relation to their home country and how these relate to the identity that they create. The framework also enabled me to study the resources that Kenyan migrants use to counter elements of racism and marginalization. Through this, I explored like Haller and Landolt, the mode of socialization that exists among the migrants and how resources circulate among them. I studied their day to day experiences and their social events.

This framework however does not include all the elements explored in the Kenyan group. For instance, it does not investigate how the identity formed by migrants is linked to their wellbeing in the host country, which is an important factor investigated in the current study among the Kenyan migrants.

1.2.5 Wellbeing

Authors (Bowling, 2005; Hamilton and Scullion, 2008; Conceicao and Bandura, 2008) have admitted that '*wellbeing*' is a complex concept, which is difficult to define. Wellbeing has different dictionary definitions and different meanings are used by different disciplines. However, notions of prosperity, health and happiness generally feature. This study explores subjective wellbeing.

Subjective measures of wellbeing are related to the perceptions of the individuals themselves. This involves the self-reported information by people about how happy and satisfied they are (or are not) with their life. Bowling (2005), Hamilton and Scullion (2008) assert that it is important in the twenty-first century to take into account how individuals feel rather than depending on how professionals think individuals feel. These authors are referring to wellbeing as defined by the individual or '*subjective wellbeing*'.

The model employed to explore subjective wellbeing in this study is that of Marks, Shah, and Westall (2004). The concepts of this model are: people's satisfaction with their life; which captures level of satisfaction, enjoyment and pleasure. This has to do with self-reports associated with: happiness, fulfilment, contentment, approval, agreement, likes, which implies being fond of, delight and gratification; people's personal development; this concept includes being engaged in life, curiosity flow, personal development, autonomy, achieving one's potential, being purposeful, and when life is meaningful. Additionally, personal development has to do with self-reports associated with inquisitiveness, interest, self-sufficiency, that is independence and/ self-rule, empowerment and being busy or occupied in life; people's social wellbeing reflects a sense of belonging to their communities. This will capture self-reports on; positive attitude towards others, including notions of contribution to society and having a sense of belonging.

1.2.6 *Giving*

Transnational identity in this study is explored through the act of gift giving. The background of gift giving is linked to anthropologists like Mauss (1954) who hold that archaic societies were organized around the principles of giving, taking and giving back and according to Mauss (1954) this further implies that pre-modern societies reproduce themselves through reciprocal gifts. In its simplest form, a gift is generally an object that is transferred from one person (the giver) to another (the recipient). In giving it is important that one takes

into consideration the relationship between the giver and the recipient because gift exchange is a powerful way that people use to establish bonds and connections, which are important issues in social relationships (Bruck, 2004). Komter's (2005) argument closely links to this view in that social solidarity and gift giving are viewed as closely linked terms, while elsewhere Schwartz (1967) asserts that giving is associated with identity issues and that through the gift an identity is enforced in both the giver and the recipient, implying that; *"to accept a gift is to accept (at least in part) an identity and to reject a gift is to reject a definition of oneself"* (Schwartz, 1967, p1). Dilnot (1993) argues that generosity to others enables one to be more generous to him/her self, resulting in what the author calls *"double joy"*. This means the joy of the receiver in the gift and the joy of the giver because of receiver's joy. This level of joy enables people to work hard to find the perfect gifts for friends and families.

1.3 AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN THE UK

Migrants represent a significant and growing minority in many countries and they are usually defined as all those people residing in a given country who are foreign-born. Current migrants in different parts of the world are very diverse. This diversity includes different nationality and cultural backgrounds, different religious practices, diversity in educational attainment and diversity in reasons for migrating. Consequently some migrants are from the industrialized countries while others are from the less developed countries (Stalker, 2000). International migration has operated through the tenets of globalization to place the world as a global village – a term that is closely linked to globalisation. To explore African migrants in the UK, this section will look at the conditions under which migrants live and their adaptation process.

1.3.1 Conditions under which migrants live

Circumstances under which migrants live in the country of settlement are varied depending on the contexts and policies of both countries of origin and countries

of settlement. This section explores these conditions in as far as African migrants in the UK are concerned. These conditions can be viewed as occurring in three stages for the purposes of this study. These stages are referred to as: 1) departure and journey stage 2) Arrival stage and 3) Stage after arrival. It is difficult to put boundaries on these stages because circumstances and issues blend together in the different stages.

1.3.1.1 Departure and journey stage

Migrants contend with the issue of being separated from their families, the familiar ways of doing things and familiar environments. In the case of forced migrants, many of them separate from family members in their search for secure environments and under very horrifying circumstances. Some of them take very long before they get in touch again while others never get in touch at all. Many migrants still have to deal with the horror that surrounds how they travelled to the country of settlement. Many travelled alone, had multiple destinations, no travel documents and many suffered through the hands of immigration officials and this was sometimes not in one but in several countries. The trauma that accompanies this kind of experience is great and also detrimental to migrants' health (Shepherd, 2006). It is however important to note here that not all migrants face these difficulties. This is because there are some who are able to organise their journey by getting necessary travel documents and having time to bid their relatives good bye. These cases however are few in the case of African migrants to the UK as compared to the former as evidenced by informal conversations held by Kenyan migrants and other African migrants in the UK during the course of this study.

Migrants have varied reasons that force them out of their home countries which include political unrest, ethnic conflicts and economic reasons. Many migrants cite concern for their families in the midst of deteriorating economic situations a reason that forces them into the risky adventures of travelling to Europe from Africa. In an online BBC article (Morgan, 2006), Morgan, a 30 year old man

from Nigeria, shares through an email how he tried to get to the Canary Islands once but did not make it and vows to try his luck again. In his email to the BBC, he reported that the boat in which he was travelling was intercepted by the Spanish police before reaching land. He was put in detention and then deported back to Nigeria. He explains his experience in his own words *"The journey was quite possibly the most frightening experience of my life and, had we not been picked up by the authorities, we would all have died."* He continues his story by saying that he is very worried about going through the experience again but concludes that there is no other way out of the economic situation that he finds himself in.

In a similar incident, Diouf reported how her son died while on the journey. In the echo of the mother's words to a BBC representative Tidiane Sy (2006), the mother asserts: *"He died in the sea with 81 young people who were all fishermen and all from our village."* She now campaigns against those who try to reach the Canary Islands by boat. She, however, states that reduction in fish levels contributes to the young men risking their lives trying to migrate to Europe. Her campaign is faced by great opposition as many men continue to vow that they will definitely try their luck if an opportunity arises. Additionally there is the risk to hard earned income which is used to pay traffickers. The income in many cases has become available through the exerted efforts of family members.

1.3.1.2 Arrival stage

When migrants arrive in a new country, most of them find it very hard to find their bearings. Usually, the treatment they receive in the hands of the immigration officials is very traumatizing. Currently, in the UK, asylum seekers often find themselves being taken to detention camps to wait there until decisions concerning their asylum applications are made. Migrants often find themselves in countries where the issue of language is a challenge. For instance, where the indigenous language is different from the migrants'

language, (which is the case in many instances), it becomes very discouraging when one cannot communicate a point across to others, especially to people in authority like teachers, social services and doctors. Even in instances where the migrants can speak the language, the accent may be very different which makes communication difficult, implying that migrants are often faced with the difficulty of lacking information. Many of them do not know where to get information concerning social services, health services and educational services. This is supported by results of a study by Shepherd (2006) where many of the participants could not speak Turkish or English (which were the main spoken languages spoken in their country of settlement) and this greatly restricted their work opportunities. Additionally, the research findings assert that, because the migrants did not know the native language, this meant using public transportation systems was difficult as was acquiring legal aid. Although the above study was not done in the UK, some of the issues mentioned in the findings are similar to what migrants in the UK have to go through.

1.3.1.3 Stage after arrival

The experience that many migrants go through during their journey and on arrival (which in most cases is horrifying) partly influences their circumstances in this third stage. There is fear and uncertainty that surrounds the issue of the asylum seeking process. Many migrants do not know the process and very little assistance is given. Additionally, the fear of refusal of asylum and subsequent deportation is a common trend among migrants in the UK. A study carried out among Kenyan women in the UK (Ceneda, 2001) reveals that the home office decisions are sometimes influenced by incorrect information which they at times gather from the home country of migrants. The claims of asylum seekers in the mentioned study were reported as untrue with evidence that government representatives in Kenya have confirmed some issues mentioned as untrue. While such incidences imply that decisions will have to be made based on that available information, usually leading to detrimental consequences, a lot is missed on the prevailing cultural circumstances which may disadvantage

women and which may only be gathered through the reports of those seeking asylum. Furthermore, home country government officials are usually not willing to give information that may implicate on how the country policies are carried out.

Many migrants experience loneliness because they do not know people in their new neighbourhood; therefore the level of isolation is usually high among new migrants, as it takes a while before migrants can get in touch with people from their own country. Recently arrived migrants also experience financial difficulties. This is because when they apply for asylum, they are usually not allowed to work until their migration cases are determined. For those who manage to get their migration status sorted out, thus being granted legal status to reside in the UK, jobs especially those related to their profession are hard to come by and they end up entering into hard manual jobs. This is usually because the qualifications they acquired in their home country are not always recognized by employers in the UK. Many migrants, especially those who are waiting for their migration cases to be determined, have to contend with refusal to travel to and from their country of settlement. Due to this, many migrants rely on telephone communication and friends and/or relatives who have travelled home to update them about issues at home. News from home can sometimes be good, for instance relatives graduating from high school or university, at other times the news can be devastating like illness or death in a family. It is especially very hard when migrants receive news about the death of family members and relatives but cannot travel home to be with the other members of the family during the time of grief and, most importantly, to be there for the burials of their loved ones (Information gathered through informal communication with a community leader during fieldwork).

There are migrants who leave some or all of their dependants in their home countries with the hope that they shall be reunited later after they have settled. Such migrants live with fear of the outcome of their immigration cases and the

anxiety of whether their dependants will ever join them. A good example is of an online article by BBC (2007) which carries a story of a mother (Fatiat) who migrated from Nigeria to the UK and left one of her daughters (Muslimat). When she finally settled and later applied for permission for reunion, she was refused by the British High Commission in Nigeria. The application failed 3 times but was later granted. She tells her story of agony throughout the time her daughter was away from the rest of the family.

Racial prejudice is an issue that migrants have to contend with most of the time in their country of settlement and Mackenzie (2003) asserts that discrimination on the basis of skin colour and ethnic background is evident in the UK. Starting from the education sector, children from ethnic minority backgrounds are usually bullied by other students. While many cases go unreported, those which are reported are never seriously dealt with. The health sector also portrays elements of racial discrimination. Medical services, for instance, appointments, medication and even ward services in hospitals rarely consider the cultural values of the migrants, they seek to serve. Although this has received great criticism especially from scholars of cultural competence in health care (Papadopoulos, 2006) the underlying issues of racism may take a while to be dealt with. The department that deals with housing is not exempt either. Many migrants are housed in areas with very poor housing conditions. Broken facilities, overcrowding, insecurity and lack of basic essentials like lifts are just some of the issues that surround the area of housing in relation to many migrants. Such conditions only work to worsen the migrants' health status through for instance, poor ventilation and overcrowding among others. Research has suggested that social factors under which people live play a great part in their wellbeing, consequently influencing their ability and desire to integrate in the host country (CSDH, 2008).

Migrants are also faced with high levels of fear. They assert that the trend of the government to disperse asylum seekers from major cities (for instance

London where they are already accustomed to and living with people already familiar to them) to cities far from London has contributed to aggravated fear. In an article, The Guardian on line, Nygothi (2004), an asylum seeker from Kenya described her life and stated that since she was dispersed to Middlesbrough, every moment of her life was full of fear. She explained that the fear was as a result of what she calls '*racism*'. She points out that she never experienced this in London from where she was dispersed and adds: "*There is a large Kenyan community there and it is an environment where people from many different backgrounds mostly live peacefully together and where there are support services ...*" When migrants constantly live in fear of not only their immigration status but also fear of negative reactions from those in their neighbourhoods, there is then the question of what the government is doing to ensure there is security and confidence of the already traumatised people owing to their previous experiences in their home countries and on their journeys. Additionally this level of fear is detrimental to one's wellbeing.

Current migrants are faced with challenges that relate to identity and citizenship and Gustafson (2002, p468) asks; "*what does it mean to migrate? Where do migrants belong? Is it possible to belong to more than one country at the same time?*" These questions are relevant and need appropriate answers. It is important that applicable policies of migrants' integration in the host country are formulated.

1.3.2 Kenyan migrants in the UK

Conditions and circumstances which surround the Kenyan migrants in the UK are not different from the conditions under which other African migrants live as discussed earlier. Following independence from the UK in 1963, Kenya experienced agricultural based economic growth under the leadership of its first president, Jomo Kenyatta, resulting in sufficient employment opportunities to negate the need for Kenyans to migrate to other countries in search of work.

According to Ghai (2005), and International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2006) changes in economic growth began during the late 1980s, followed by a drastic deterioration in the early 1990s, resulting in unemployment; the agricultural sector was no longer able to moderate the downward trend in the job market. All this was accompanied by a change in political leadership, which resulted in ethnic tension and tribal clashes within the country. Generally, Kenyans have always migrated to the UK usually facilitated by the colonial links which exist between the two nations. In the past, Kenyan migration to the UK has mostly been for educational purposes, but they would always return, with the exception of those who sought political asylum abroad following political tensions. However, following the economic downturn of the 1990s, coupled with ethnic and political instability, a large number of Kenyans have migrated to neighbouring African countries, and countries in other continents, such as the UK, which is seen as safe haven for many in search of security and better employment opportunities.

A large proportion (80%) of young Kenyans in the UK is represented by students according to International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2006). An estimate of the size of the Kenyan community in the UK suggests a number of between 150,000 and 300,000 people (IOM, 2006); however as migrant populations are traditionally very mobile, it can be difficult to acquire reliable official data. The IOM (2006) indicates that the majority of Kenyans in the UK are based in London. Many Kenyans in the UK migrated as a result of work and perceived opportunities after deterioration of the Kenyan economy in the 90s and Datta et al. (2007) asserts that many migrants in the UK are mostly employed in low paid service sectors where they usually work under extremely difficult conditions. Datta and co-researchers (2007) further found in his study that many migrants in the UK are employed in jobs that do not match with their skills and that migrants mostly use this as a form of coping strategy.

In terms of family structure, Kenyans, like most Africans, have strong extended family social obligations which continue to be upheld by Kenyan migrants in their host countries. Additionally, majority of Kenyans are Christians and they carry their faith and its' doctrines across borders (Copeland-Carson, 2007) and this is clearly reflected in the Kenyan group under this study. There has generally been little research done with Kenyan migrants in the UK. This highlights the importance of the current study which explores transnational identity and wellbeing among Kenyan migrants in the UK.

1.4 THE ETHNO HISTORY OF KENYA

This section focuses on laying out the contextual issues that relate to the country and the people of Kenya. This is with the aim that the background issues including geography, history, health issues and cultural background will enable the reader to have a grasp of issues closely related to the participants of this study in a wider perspective. With this kind of information, the picture laid out in the results and discussion of this study may be better embraced and understood.

Although Kenya is generally associated with tourism in terms of: wild animals, land of safaris, and Maasai warriors, there is more to it in terms of culture, language and socio-economic issues and as Sobania (2003) asserts, Kenya is viewed as having strong attachments to culture, as it is the case for many African countries.

1.4.1 Geographical location of the people of Kenya

The country is named after one of its mountains, Mount Kenya and the highest point of the country is one of the mountain's peaks which measures at 5,200 meters. This mountain is in the central highlands of the country and Kenya is one of the countries located in the Eastern part of Africa. The country borders Somalia, Indian Ocean, Tanzania, Uganda, and Sudan, and the equator passes

across it. Nairobi, which is the capital city, is located in the central highlands. The Great Rift Valley is also a very important feature; it includes a wide deep valley called canyon which passes through high lands. The area is suitable for farming. The Kikuyu ethnic group traditionally believes that '*Ngai*' the Kikuyu word for God originated and was always based at the mountain. Based on this belief, traditional religious ceremonies were always performed while facing Mount Kenya. The population of Kenya stands at 38 million people according to World Bank Data Group (2009). Kenya has approximately 40 ethnic groups with each group having their specific ethnic language.

1.4.2 *Language*

Kenya is an ethnically diverse country. The official language is English which is also the language used in schools. Swahili is the national language and it is fairly spoken by a good number of people. While not many people can speak all the different ethnic languages, Swahili is used to close that gap. Ethnic languages are dependent on the ethnic groups. Kikuyu together with other Bantu speakers (Luhya and Kamba) are the majority with 20, 13, and 11 percent of the population respectively. The Nilotic-speaking Luo and the Kalenjin make 14 and 10 percent of the population respectively (Sobania, 2003). The rest of the languages are spoken by few people in relation to the population of the country.

1.4.3 *Politics in Kenya*

Kenya gained her independence from Britain in 1963, after which it became partly capitalist in terms of economy and also socialist (Kinuthia, 2002).

The force of law in Kenya is maintained through 3 different judicial systems. These are; the traditional law, which is still held as a force of law in many rural communities, although it is not as strong as it was in the past. In cities and rural towns, there are courts of law as established in the national constitution

and which were introduced in accordance to that of the colonial government. The third one is the Islamic courts based on Islamic religious law. Sharia is a legal system derived from the Koran and the traditions and sayings of the prophet Muhammad that Muslims believe can govern every area of an individual's life.

Mob justice has increasingly emerged as another form of informal justice in Kenya. This is a collective punishment where members of the community take the law into their own hands. The prevalence of this kind of justice is closely associated with the failure of the formal judicial system. Many people presume that there is inefficiency and corruption within the judicial system.

In Kenya, ethnic violence (usually linked to political motivations) has been a common feature and it is said to have started before independence when the colonial government put boundaries to label a community as belonging to one or another ethnic group therefore preventing communities from peacefully interacting. After the colonial administration in Kenya, struggle for leadership and control of the national treasury among the tribes ensued. The ethnic group that got into leadership took the opportunity to control all areas of the government resources, and monopolized the political power. Politicians also became tribal oriented when it came to distribution of government jobs to guarantee their re-election. This went a long way into creating strife among the Kenyan leaders and consequently among the ethnic groups they represent (Anassi, 2004). The recent post election ethnic clashes of 2007/2008 in Kenya have their main roots in this kind of strife and Gutierrez-Romero (2010, p2) views that: "[In] *Kenya, political parties have used ethnic identity to mobilize voters and to establish political alliances leading in some cases to violent ethnic conflicts*". This shows the kind of challenges that are facing upcoming democratic governments especially in the African continent.

Politics in Kenya before the 2007 controversial general elections used to take place in a framework of a presidential representative in a democratic republic. The president, under this kind of framework, is both head of state and head of government. This framework asserts too much power on the president and his allies. In view of the political corruption that has ensued in the country this kind of framework has for a long time, been seen to encourage strife among the different ethnic groups who equate government leadership with jobs and resources for their tribesmen (Haugerud, 1993). The multiparty system started in Kenya in 1992. After the disputed election results of December 2007, constitutional amendments were made which have enabled sharing of executive powers between the president and a prime minister.

1.4.4 Health care issues in Kenya

The current health care system in Kenya greatly reflects the system which was introduced by the white settlers during the period of colonization. The Kenya National Health System was established in the early 1950s and is still operational. It includes regional, provincial and district hospitals and a network of rural health clinics. This model of health is not appropriate for Africa because of a number of reasons: The disease patterns in Africa are different from the patterns in economically developed countries. A good example is that while the leading illnesses in Africa are respiratory diseases, diarrhoea, Malaria and Measles, these illnesses no longer exist in large scales in the West. The treatment of the major illnesses in Kenya does not require very advanced technology, which implies that with proper financial management from the government these illnesses can be alleviated; however the health department invests heavily on advanced technology imported from the West which drains resources from the preventative measures required to check the basic illnesses. Furthermore medical technology also requires a high level of dependency on Western countries, which supply medical equipment and medications to Africa at a great cost to the continent (Mbatia and Bradshaw, 2003).

Another weakness of the western based models is the emphasis on urban concentration. Kinuthia (2002) asserts that a lot of emphasis is on hospitals and clinics being situated in cities even though 70 percent of Africans still live in rural areas. It is usually difficult for many Africans to travel to urban areas for treatment while those who finally succeed have to contend with long queues before seeing a practitioner. Furthermore Kalipeni (1995) holds that biomedical services in Africa are usually provided in a strange and impersonal cultural environment. Additionally, rural residents may find it difficult to locate someone who speaks their ethnic language and this adds to the difficulty of finding direction in what feels like a foreign environment. Introduction of '*user fees*' or '*cost sharing*' to a population that is poor and becoming poorer leads to reduced access to health care. While studying cancer patients in Kenya, Murray, Grant, Grant and Kendall (2003, p369) found that patients and their carers reported bodily pain and economic difficulties as their major problems. Further more, these authors add:

"In Kenya, analgesia, essential equipment, suitable food, and assistance in care were often inaccessible and unaffordable, resulting in considerable unmet physical needs: Kenyan patients reported that their psychological, social, and spiritual needs were usually met by their families, local community, and religious groups".

Primary Health Care (PHC) approach is the frame work that fits well with African countries according to Mbatia and Bradshaw (2003). This approach emphasizes decentralization and greater emphasis on community decision-making and participation. Kinuthia (2002) argues that presently in Kenya in terms of health services, the government spends 30% for rural regions and 70% for urban although only 20% of total population reside in the urban areas. Additionally the ratio of consultants to population in rural and urban stands at, 1:33,000 and 1:1,700 respectively.

1.4.5 *The Kenyan economy*

Kenya's economy is largely based on agriculture which employs nearly 80 per cent of the labour force and 65 per cent of the export earnings are mainly agricultural products. The economic cushion that was once provided by the rural economy for the unemployed and to which children and women could return is a much less viable alternative. The country, once self-sufficient in food, today suffers from smuggling, corruption and environmental problems and must periodically import maize, wheat and powdered milk. Although agriculture used to be the heart of the economy, today the service industry is dominant (Sobania, 2003)

Most Kenyans today admit that corruption is very rampant (Anassi, 2004) and that it is one of the major problems facing the economy of the country. There are various terms that are used by Kenyans which all refer to bribes and corruption. When referring to a person who takes bribes, Kenyans will refer to him as one who *'eats'* or *'drinks tea'*. A widely used term is TKK which in Swahili stands for *'Toa kitu kidogo'* and in English it means *'give out something small'*. What initially started as something small has now changed to *'Toa Kila Kitu'* which means, *'give out everything'*. For instance an online article by Mukinda (2008) elaborates on how corrupt police in Kenya are keeping side by side with technology. This is by taking advantage of enhanced technology in order to receive bribes from the drivers through MPESA which refers to a money transfer system through mobile phones. This is usually done so that the officers can avoid arrest. In his work examining the widespread element of corruption in Kenya, Anassi (2004, p20) asserts:

"Corruption places the unbearable burden on the most vulnerable people, and hinders development towards poverty reduction. The poverty reduction strategy now in place in most African countries has yet to bear fruit."

These conditions have consequently led to many people migrating from the country in search of better paying jobs, secure neighbourhoods, political asylum, and better social services like health. Furthermore with corruption creating conditions for public funds to be misused, it is no wonder that those who migrate become a life line for those they leave behind, implying that they have to provide for their very basic needs like health which the government should be at the forefront to provide to its citizens.

1.4.6 *The family*

The role and nature of family in Kenya can only be understood fully by first having a clear understanding of the extent of personal ties and relationships within and between communities. According to one author (Sobania, 2003); a Kenyan family can consist of many nuclear families which live together and usually very near each other. This is the form of family also referred to as the extended family. For instance, the behaviour and the status of every individual in the Kikuyu society are determined by 3 factors: the family group also called '*mbari*' or '*nyumba*', the clan also called '*moherega*'. The third factor in unifying the kikuyu society is the system of age-grading also called '*riika*' (Kenyatta, 1938).

1.4.7 *Marriage*

Marriage is the event through which individuals start to establish their own kinship network. This is a critical element in the family's success in times of both plenty and want. In Kenya, most ethnic groups are Patriarchal, thus inheritance passes through the male line. Due to this, for example among the Kikuyu, the wife leaves her family and moves in with the husband and becomes a part of her husband's family. There is also change of surname from her father's to her husband's name. In the Kikuyu ethnic group, it is significant for marriage to be understood as the joining together of two families, that of the bride and of the groom (Kenyatta, 1938).

The first step in the marriage process, for example among the Kikuyu is to make it public that there is interest for a young man to marry a particular young woman. This is usually done by the man's family on his behalf. Today, the young man can make it known to his family that he is interested in a given young lady but this was not allowed in the past, the decision of who he was to marry was to be made by his father. After this a spokesman from the groom's family would lead a delegation to the girl's village taking with them some gifts in form of goats and brewed beer (Sobania, 2003). Today cash is usually substituted for these gifts. This marks the beginning of a process called 'negotiation' which takes place before the bride and the groom are allowed to publicly be declared as husband and wife.

The negotiation stage is particularly important as it determines the bridal price. This is done with the realization that a woman's labour in the African society is so important to her family's existence and her departure is a significant loss to her family. Bridal price is therefore the lump sum gifts (today, usually in the form of cash) given to compensate for this loss and the negotiation process has laid down steps which are required to be followed.

The bridal wealth given does not only originate from the groom's family but also from the members of his extended family and likewise the bride wealth is also shared by the members of the extended family on the bride's side. It is important that the relationship between the two families stays strong and active and due to this, a groom is really never finished paying bride wealth. Continuous gifts, even small ones, are always being requested by the wife's family and given by the husband. This cultural behaviour continues even when people migrate. For instance, when migrants are organizing a wedding while in their country of settlement and if they cannot travel, they will send their relatives in Kenya to go and pay bride price for them which will give them clearance to continue with their wedding arrangements. Bride price is also a

way of insuring the marriage, when a couple is seeking divorce, the bride's family must return these gifts.

The essence of gift giving among Kenyans is a well founded one especially among family members. During the National holidays, relatives visit each other and it is not unusual to visit unannounced; when they do, they will always carry a few gifts with them in a woven basket called '*kiando*' which has to be emptied and given back when the visitors are leaving and the host has to put gifts of a different nature when giving the '*kiando*' back to them. It is within this kind of culture of reciprocity that participants in this study report of maintaining links with their home country. Reciprocity is evident in reports of participants' motivation of providing support.

Once the negotiation stage is finished, there is usually a public recognition that a marriage has occurred. Among the Christians, this usually happens in churches while among the Swahili Muslims it is done in the mosque. Among the Kikuyu, where patriarchal system is adhered to, the permanence of the move by the wife is clearly seen in the naming of the children born. The first born is named after the husband's father or mother depending on whether it is a girl or boy.

After a marriage contract is signed between two families, all clan members of both sides become united. They regard one another as '*mothoni*' (relative by marriage). The behaviour towards one's relative-in-law is bound up with the word '*mothoni*', which means one who is polite or courteous. Therefore every '*mothoni*' must treat each other with politeness. In matters of economics, both sides give each other a great deal of mutual support. This notion of exchange is based on the principle of 'give and take' which is very prevalent among Kenyans and widely expressed through many proverbs in different ethnic groups (Kenyatta, 1939; Barra, 1960).

1.4.8 Religion

Kenyans are known to be very religious and over 80% of the population are said to be Christians. The outreach arm of the church has played a vital role in improving the living conditions of many average Kenyans. Particularly in the rural areas, the provision of health and education services has greatly been met through religious groups and non-governmental organizations. Most recently, church leaders have been known to be the most vocal critics of political corruption and strong advocates of democratic government (Sobania, 2003).

Just as Kenya is made up of a multiplicity of ethnic and racial groups, so too it is composed of believers from many faiths following the wide range of practices found within each one. Every lunch time in down town Nairobi parks like Jeevanjee Gardens (a public park) are filled with loudspeakers, music and prayers led by evangelical preachers armed with electronic megaphones each competing to attract a crowd. Signs along the road in the country and in small towns announce the location of churches from mainline Protestants and Roman Catholic churches. Independent churches are also very widespread in Kenya. Additionally evangelicals come to Kenya from the United States and Europe and hold revival meetings or rallies that attract thousands of people to Nairobi's Uhuru Park. As the national economy has declined and people have despaired, religion provides many with hope and it may for a while even help them forget they are hungry or ill. However with increased rates of corruption in the economy, the church has not been immune. Many people who attend church during the weekend find themselves taking bribes or giving bribes during the week especially in government offices so that they can give or receive favours (Sobania, 2003).

1.5.0 SUMMARY

The foregoing chapter explores the rationale and background information related to this study, including setting out the current state of affairs surrounding the integration of migrants in the UK. Frameworks of

multiculturalism, transnationalism and migrants' wellbeing are briefly introduced here. Through this the background related to this study is examined, through laying out briefly what has been studied so far. What the study aims to accomplish beyond what is already studied is also explored. The aims and research questions related to the study are laid out to enlighten the reader on what the study expects to accomplish. The major terms of the study are mentioned and defined, an important thing at this stage because these terms will widely feature in different sections of the thesis. The situation of African migrants is briefly explored including Kenyan migrants in the UK. The chapter ends with a section on the ethno history of Kenya which is important in contextualising the study by laying out the background of the participants involved in this study.

Chapter 2 deals with a broad review of the literature significant to this study. The methodology used follows in chapter 3 and presents the methods selected and details the processes of data collection, data management, analysis and verification. Chapter 4 details the results of an initial survey which provides a snapshot around issues related to providing support by Kenyan migrants to their ill relatives in Kenya. Chapter 5 describes the main findings of the study from the semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The findings are organised and presented under a number of major themes. The critical interpretation and discussions of all findings is the content of chapter 6. The final chapter, chapter 7 deals with the recommendations and conclusions of the study and suggests further research areas emerging as a result of this study.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on reviewing the relevant literature on areas considered significant to the study of transnational identity and wellbeing. Most of the concepts mentioned briefly in the introduction chapter are explored at a deeper level here in order to include the theoretical frameworks related to each of them. It is important that an outline of how the literature search was conducted is laid out and this section is dealt with first in the following section.

Literature on transnationalism and identity issues are explored in depth. The practice of providing support by Kenyan migrants to chronically ill relatives in Kenya exhibits identity construction which in this study is transnational in nature since it transcends boundaries of nation states. Wellbeing and specifically subjective wellbeing and associated theories are also examined. Additionally, migration issues are explored including: migration to Europe, migration to the UK and migration policies in the UK. This is done to situate migration in the context of this study and to allow the reader to understand the interrelationship surrounding migration, migration policies and identity construction of migrants. It is not the intention of this study to deal with the issue of migration in depth however it is important that some of the issues which relate to migration in general, for instance general migration into the UK and some specific features of it, for example Kenyan migrants in the UK be investigated. This enables the reader to relate different areas linked to migration with issues explored in this study. The UK migration legislation and policy is explored in order to illustrate the pattern of development which it has taken with time including the current policy which is mainly focused on managing and capping migration.

The relationship between Kenya and the UK is investigated under a section on colonial history, including how Kenya acquired its independence from Britain. Furthermore the legacy of colonial history and the patterns of migration from Kenya to the UK, including available literature about Kenyans in the UK are also explored.

2.1 LITERATURE SEARCH

During the course of this study, literature relevant to the research topic has been searched, studied and referenced accordingly. The major databases that were searched include; Social Sciences Citation Index, PsychINFO, Ovid, EBSCOhost, Oxford Journals, Medline, pub med and Cochrane. In the beginning, the key words searched were; transnational identity, transnationalism, health, migrants. Although literature on transnationalism in general was available through this search, and mainly on research done in America, literature on transnational identity was scarce and with time the search terms were broadened to include; migrants identity, wellbeing, identity construction and migration policies. This was helpful as more literature was available. The reference section of all relevant articles was used for snowballing purposes and more literature was attained through this method. During this literature search however it was noted that literature relating to transnational identity and wellbeing of migrants in general and Kenyan migrants in particular was scarce.

2.2 TRANSNATIONALISM PREMISE

"In the contemporary world, people live more complex and interdependent lives than ever before. Not only do we rely on our immediate family, community or state to provide a framework for us to make meaningful social, political and cultural decisions, but we draw on

sources beyond these conventional boundaries of space and belonging”
(Morrell, 2008, p5).

This quote reflects the kind of language that dominates studies relating to current migrants regardless of their home or host countries. Many scholars in this area (Castles and Miller, 2003; Hannerz, 1996) admit that there has been a change in the nature of migration and the environment in which migrants live. Furthermore these authors argue that globalization has facilitated the distribution of families around the world through communication and travel becoming more accessible. The implication of this is that keeping in contact despite being scattered in different nations of the world has become all the more possible. Transnationalism is a concept that has developed in migration scholarship as a result of these changes in migration.

Transnationalism as a concept is said to have gone through a process of refining since its first use. Keohane and Nye (1971) assert that originally it was related to increased freedom of capital from regulations within a nation and what they referred to as '*supra-state institutions*' within international relations. This echoes Bryceson and Vuorela's (2002) view that initially transnationalism mainly focused on the movement of commodities and capital. Today this concept is defined differently; for instance, transnationalism has been defined by Basch et al., (1994, p7) as:

"...the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multithreaded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today, build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders."

While Portes (1999) has a comparable definition, he further argues that transnational activities can be carried out by people along the whole spectrum

of society which implies it can be by government representatives operating with multinational institutions at the higher level or by migrants keeping links with their home country kin. To him transnationalism is not operational in economic terms only but incorporates issues related to politics, culture and religion.

Scholars (Guarnizo and Smith, 1998) refer to locations of transnationalism through concepts of; '*transnationalism from above*' which is reflected through transnational resources, worldwide media and international based institutions while '*transnationalism from below*' has to do with transnational migration and multiple identities constructed through cultural hybridity, mainly by ordinary migrants. These forms of development are viewed as weakening the nation-state model which usually demands its members to pledge their loyalty to a single nation. The current study is mainly based on transnationalism from below and it explores how migrants construct transnational identity in their day to day lives.

2.2.1 *Determinants of transnationalism*

The practice of transnationalism is not usually embraced by all migrants. While some individuals happen to be intensely participating in transnationalism, others do not, and for some groups, they organize transnational related businesses aimed at offering them socially and economically related mobility (Levitt, 2001a). This implies that the degree and nature of political and socio-cultural transnationalism varies widely among different groups of migrants.

One of the determinants of transnationalism is the history of immigration, coupled with the modes in which migrants are received and this mainly sets the basis on which the direction their activities, whether transnational or not, will take (Portes, 1999). This author further asserts that when migration is massive and motivated by political issues in the country of origin, there is a likelihood that immigrants will remain morally tied to kin and communities left behind and, hence, are more likely to engage in a variety of activities to bridge the gap and

sustain a common bond. However, when migration is an individualized process, based on personal and family decisions, transnational activities are more selective. Most Kenyan migrants in the UK migrated as a result of poor political and economic situations in their country of origin (IOM, 2006). Following Portes argument above, Kenyan migrants in the UK are expected to maintain links with their country of origin and with their kin.

Transnationalism is also determined by the degree of prejudice and resentment faced by an immigrant group in the country of settlement. Portes (1999, p465) asserts:

"When, by reason of its racial features and culture, a foreign group is uniformly rejected and confined to a permanently inferior status, there is every incentive to reaffirm to its collective worth and seek economic security through low-conventional paths'.

This implies that racial prejudice experiences force migrants to concentrate more on their cultural values in order to seek affirmation and recognition. Ramji (2006) however claims that such views which identify transnational identity only as a way of redressing racism in the host country are too '*simplistic*'. This is because this kind of reasoning ignores the complexity of migrants' day to day lives which influence their relationship with their host country. Furthermore such views assume what Ramji (2006, p648) terms "*the cultural and identity spaces they [migrants] occupy*". The implication here is that migrants' experiences of prejudice and resentment from the host population do not function separately but these factors work together with others to determine migrants' integration behaviours even those linked to their transnational identity.

Other scholars (Landolt, Autler, and Baires, 1999) argue that where the host government policies are restrictive of migrants to enter and settle, this

heightens their impetus to engage in transnational activities. This implies that migrants are forced by such reactions to create protection mechanisms among themselves therefore identifying with cultural values based in their home country, thus distancing themselves from the host society. Portes (1999) calls this '*reactive ethnicity*' and Popkin (1999) asserts that although many migrants carry with them customs, language and traditions, these are further heightened in significance as a mechanism for self-defence and collective reaffirmation against their varied discrimination experiences which they receive from the host population.

A closer look at what has been happening in the UK concerning migration policies (this section is dealt with in detail later in this chapter) indicates that the government has worked hard through policies to control migration into the country and has established policies which only allow the people they want at a given time to enter the country. The majority of migrants in the UK especially from non-European nations have therefore faced discrimination and hostility from the host country government and its people and this has reinforced transnationalism among the ethnic minority groups, although it is not the sole cause of it (Kyambi, 2008).

Scholars in the field of transnational identity are keen to consider issues to do with transnationalism in integration policies in host countries in order to encompass the reality of the circumstances which surround current migrants. While much of the initial work on transnationalism was based in the United States of America, henceforth U.S.A and concentrated mainly on labour migrants, Al-Ali, Black, and Koser (2001) assert that migrants in other countries, and especially migrants outside the labour segment, continue to exhibit related characteristics and there is need to explore the behaviour of these migrants empirically. In order to situate transnationalism in this study it is important that this review of literature explores briefly assimilation and

multiculturalism theories as the frameworks that forerun transnationalism in explaining how migrants adapt to the host country.

2.2.2 *Assimilation theories*

Scholars of assimilation theories like Gordon (1964) hold that migrants are able to easily abandon their original cultures and adapt to the culture of the host country. This implies that migrants melt into the culture of the host country in their adaptation, finally resulting into what Faist (2000a) refers to as '*cultural submergence*'. This claim is criticized on the basis of confining culture and assuming that it can only operate within the borders of nation-states, further implying that culture is something that people can easily choose to keep or not. This line of thinking appears to exalt the culture of the host country over and above that of the home countries of the migrants.

2.2.3 *Multiculturalism*

Multiculturalism, also related to ethnic pluralism views, holds that instead of assimilating into the core culture, migrants can continue to hold on to their cultural values jointly with the cultural values of the host country. According to Bourne (2007, p4): "*Multiculturalism means cultures influencing one another*", which implies maintaining positive interactions with each other. Additionally Sivanandan (2005) assert that multiculturalism can be '*progressive*' or '*regressive*'. This implies that when ethnic groups choose not to embrace each other and exhibit prejudice, this results to regressiveness, however when racism is eliminated, this leads to progressiveness. Bourne (2007) holds that the original intentions of multiculturalism in the UK which were based on fighting racial discrimination were good and meant to lead to progress (according to this author multiculturalism originated as a migration policy through central and local government meant to address racially related tensions among British ethnic minorities). This according to Bourne (2007) changed in that the government deviated from this line of thinking and decided to allow

each ethnic group to separately uphold their cultural practices without positively influencing each other. This was introduced through allowing the establishment of local government ethnic community groups which received funding from the government. This widely led to segregation of these communities rendering multiculturalism and consequently its initial aim to fight against racism ineffective. Furthermore this change of view is also reflected through the introduction of integration policies which appear to imply assimilation and scholars (Jacobs and Rea, 2007) hold that through the introduction of civil integration policies, for instance, UK citizenship test in the UK, it appears like going for a closer tie with assimilation views and therefore drifting away from multiculturalism frame work.

In its original form therefore, multiculturalism is a framework of integrating migrants into a host country, whereby different cultural groups can happily co-exist and positively influence each other and as Parekh (1999) asserts, it holds having a '*sense of belonging*' among the different community group members to be paramount. This framework appears to depart from assimilation theories by arguing that migrants should not be compelled to lose their home country identities and therefore allows migrants to maintain their cultural values and religious beliefs but requires commitment and loyalty to the governing body in the host nation. According to Kymlicka and Banting (2006, p281): "[multiculturalism] *policies reflect a perception that properly managed migration can be a benefit and a resource to the country rather than a threat to it*". This echoes Shachar's (2001) view. However the notion behind multiculturalism is still the nation-state as it insists that both migrants and the nationals in the host country should have their loyalty to a single nation-state. As it is with assimilation theories, multiculturalism theory does not acknowledge transnational identity, a characteristic of current migrants to exhibit attributes that cannot be explained using the notion of a single nation-state only but a combination of more than one nation. This limits its capability in as far as accommodating migrants' integration in the host country is concerned.

In his work; '*Cultural logics of transnational migration*' Faist (2006, p51-52) explores transnationalism and its different phases. He argues that the transnational turn in migration studies was responsible for provoking different explorations of the concept among scholars:

- ◆ The first wave was concerned with concepts for instance analyzing transnationalism and critically looking at how it compares with assimilation including the prevalent outlook of transnationalism as a new phenomenon in international migration.
- ◆ The second wave majored on '*conceptualizing*' and '*measuring*' transnationalism. This has led to considerable discussions and evaluations of international migrants and the part played by nation states in '*transnational linkages*'. The claim that transnationalism replaces assimilation is explored under this wave.
- ◆ The third and current wave is concerned with assessing how transnationalism can explain: '[The] *overall social integration of migrants regarding the cultural, political and economic dimensions.*' The argument here is that transnational lens can offer explanation on issues of migration and cultural integration. In this wave, Faist (2006, p52) continues to assert:

"Rather than viewing geographical mobility in a binary manner through the processes of emigration from, and immigration to particular countries – with possible re-migration to emigration countries – international migration should be understood as manifold processes linking together countries of origin and destination. Transnational social spaces ... consist of combinations of social and symbolic ties and their contents, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in at least two internationally distinct places."

This study will go beyond assimilation, multiculturalism and initial transnationalism views in order to give consideration to perceptions that relate to current migrants in the process of their integration in the host country. While the forerunners of transnationalism supposedly looked at migrants' adaptation differently (each allegedly trying to improve on the ideas of their predecessors), their common notion of loyalty to a single nation faces dispute because current migrants embrace characteristics that exhibit loyalty to more than one nation state in a given period of time. These theories ignore some distinct behaviour exhibited by current migrants especially in terms of the dynamic nature of culture and also according to Faist (2000b, p214) prevalent terms like: '*mixed languages*', and '*hyphenated collective identities*' are also not given room under these notions. This implies that in terms of language, the language of the dominant culture is given preference, for instance in the UK where migrants are required to pass English tests before naturalization. Additionally in terms of multiple identities, where migrants may refer to themselves as nationals of both their home and host country, for instance Kenyan-British, this kind of hyphenated identity is not acknowledged even in the census forms. Fanshawe and Sriskandarajah (2010) for instance have discussed this limitation and have shown how the ethnic related choices given during census in the UK census forms, eliminate some migrants because many cannot fit in any of the boxes given for them to choose. Furthermore while initial scholarship in transnationalism has been majoring in how migrants manage to live lives that span multiple national boundaries, there has been a gap in tapping from the migrants themselves in terms of how they construct transnational identity in their day to day life. Bryceson and Vuorela (2002, p4) notes:

"They [initial transnationalism studies] emphasize boundaries and space, whereas aspects of agency and everyday practice that are even more central to understanding the mobility, future orientation and dynamics of networking within transnational families and transnational ways of life are left far hazier."

While most of these initial studies were carried out in the U.S.A., few studies have studied African migrants in the UK. This study endeavours to fill this gap by considering how Kenyan migrants in the UK construct their transnational identity through providing support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya and how this relates to their wellbeing. Wright (2007) argues that transnational identity and its impact on migrants' wellbeing is an area that is under researched.

There is need to mention that although transnationalism and the subsequent transnational identity view appear to be concepts that capture or accommodate current migrants' behaviour, and which are important in trying to explore migrants' process of integration in the host country, these theories cannot work without much consideration of national borders which form the basis of the initial theories of adaptation. This is because as Faist (2000b, p216) observes: *'Immigrant cultures cannot exist in a deterritorialized space'*. This is echoed by Kivisto (2001, p571) who asserts:

"Rather than abandoning assimilation ... it would appear most appropriate to consider transnationalism as one possible variant of assimilation. This is because at the moment transnational immigrants are working to maintain homeland connections they are also engaged in the process of acculturating to the host society".

Additionally Robins (2006, p23) asserts: *"Globalization would then be seen in terms of process whereby transnational geographies settle over national geographies"* and further argues that this kind of thinking will then allow us to do away with terms like *'displacement'* and *'being left behind'* to think of it as *"the two different kinds of social and cultural space coexisting as distinct strata."* In this sense Robins (2006) adds that critiques of nation-state model should not aim to suggest an *'end of the nation state'* but rather to provoke

possibility of accommodation. This view is supported by Jacobs and Rea (2007) who argue that the introduction of national integration programmes of new migrants in many European Union countries tend to make the views of traditional models outdated, while this is not the complete picture, implying that national models may still be of value today, Jacobs and Rea (2007, p265) assert: "[These] *traditional typologies might have to be re-examined*" These theories therefore do not contradict one another, neither are they different entities but it appears that they supplement each other, a view that is upheld in this study.

2.3 IDENTITY THEORY

In general people usually behave or act in relation to their identities and according to Bhugra (2004, p135): '*A person's identity is defined as the totality of one's self – formed by how one construes oneself in the present, how one construed oneself in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future*'. Jenkins (2004) argues that identities are constructed in a context comprising of the way people view themselves and the way others view them. In this regard, self-attribution is used to describe the former and the latter is referred to as other-ascribed. Else where Woodward (2000, 2002) argues that the notion of identity requires a person to be actively involved. This implies that one's participation in issues to do with identity is paramount, and further asserts that since issues to do with '*sameness*' and '*difference*' are common in exploring identity, representation system assists in enabling people to mark similarities and differences. Some of the representation features commonly used are, language, clothing, and food.

Furthermore Woodward (2000) asserts that the link between oneself and others is additionally influenced by the connection between what one wants to be and the influences, pressures and opportunities which are available. This is because social, material and physical constraints usually prevent us from presenting ourselves in some identity positions as we would choose. In the case of

migrants, identities are usually constrained by the policies in the country of settlement. For instance, in some cases migrants may have qualifications acquired in their home countries but fail to secure jobs equivalent to their qualifications because the host country only recognizes qualifications acquired within the country. Although identities are usually viewed as fixed or fluid and changing, the aspect of '*fluidity and changing*' is more relevant in the contemporary period than that of '*being fixed*'. Hartmann and Cornell (1998, p72) assert: '*Ethnic and racial identities and the groups that carry them change over time as the forces that impinge on them change, and as the claims made by both group members and others change as well.*' This means that migrants' identities are influenced by the circumstances that surround them in the host country which in this case may include government policies and the attitude of the host population among others.

It is through representational systems that individuals allow their identities and those of others to be meaningful and Woodward (2002) argues that the symbolic systems through which this happens should not be viewed as straightforward, because representational systems are usually mixed up during the process of constructing what makes sense to people, that is, their identities. Furthermore meanings are not usually shared, for what marks an individual's identity may be seen to oppose that of others. For example, Woodward (2002) asserts that whilst individuals strive to construct their identities, they also have to try to stand their ground and oppose any negative representation of who they are from others. Elsewhere, Mercer (2000) argues that under normal circumstances, identity is usually taken as given and only becomes an issue when it is in crisis.

Place or home has a significant relationship to identity. Many people when referring to their identity usually mention issues to do with terms like residence, local area and nationality. This is important when we consider the current period of increased international migration. Although the movement of people

across the globe does have a long history and cannot be confined to the twentieth century, it is during this century that it came to achieve a particular standing in relation to migrants' identity, consequently leading to questions of national identity. The movement from one place to another has contributed to the development of '*identity politics*' and the notion of '*identity crises*.' This is because migration involves dislocation, between physical places, referring to the spaces that migrants occupy (migrants leave one country and enter another). Migration also leads to disruptions of emotional attachment and meanings that are attached to the place one has left (Woodward, 2002). It is these emotional attachments to the home country and the instrumental attachments of jobs and other factors in the host country that position migrants in situations that their identities differ from those of the host population.

Migration impacts on the various ways in which it is possible for people to represent themselves. This makes mass movements of people around the world to become a major concern in politics because of their influence in the way nations and community groups relate to each other. Furthermore, Woodward (2002) argues that currently, there are sustained efforts to understand the importance of migration in the shaping of identity. Migration has constantly had links with home and this implies that new identities are usually constructed with some exchange of ideas related to home, regardless of why one left and the distance travelled. For those who have migrated, home is usually an imaginary construction which tells us more about what their anticipations and desires are (Woodward, 2002).

2.4 TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY

In terms of transnationalism, literature (Portes, 1997; Vertovec, 2001) expresses that migrants live in contexts that spread to more than one location, implying that current social worlds of many people are multi-located. Vertovec (2001) argues that the day to day lives of such people lead to formation of

'*cultural repertoires*', implying cultural dynamics which eventually influence identity construction and in essence lead to emergence of multiple identities. This implies that their cultural values occur in a social space combining the conditions prevailing in the host country coupled with perspectives related to their descent. Some of the characteristics surrounding social worlds of multiple identities can better be understood through Vertovec's (2001, p578) words:

'[Multiple identities are as a result of] *Histories and stereotypes of local belonging and exclusion, geographies of cultural difference and class/ethnic segregation, racialized socio-economic hierarchies, degree and type of collective mobilization, access to and nature of resources, and perceptions and regulations surrounding rights and duties.*'"

This shows that the construction of transnational identity among migrants is a complex issue that cannot be explained by a single factor located in a single nation but is usually influenced by multiple factors operating in different nations. Haller and Landolt (2005) refer to these collection of behaviours as '*social fields*' and assert that they provide environments that enable people to be involved in what they term as '*ways of being*' referring to the prevailing social relations among migrants and '*ways of belonging*' which according to Glick Schiller (2004, p458) are: "*The realm of cultural representation, ideology, and identity through which people reach out to distant lands or persons through memory, nostalgia, and imagination*". This is also echoed by other authors (Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004) who argue that features of assimilation and transnational identity are not opposed to each other but operate like a pendulum, implying swinging between identification with home country and transnational perspectives. Bhugra (2004) holds that '*ethnicity*' denotes sharing a common heritage in terms of history, language, food and dressing preferences and that '*ethnic identity*' depends on the cultural or physical criteria which differentiate the group from others. Furthermore ethnic identity is usually taken to be part of an individual's identity and in the process of development of

one's identity, the changes that one experience as a result of migration will also mean a change in '*construction of identity*'.

According to Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004, p1006):

"Social field [is] a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed. Social fields are multi-dimensional; encompassing structured interactions of differing forms ... National boundaries are not necessarily contiguous with the boundaries of social fields. National social fields are those that stay within national boundaries while transnational social fields connect actors, through direct and indirect relations across borders."

In migration studies, the element of social fields is important in determining social relationships maintained by the migrants and their significant others especially in the home country. These links are maintained through different forms of communication. In her work on social remittances, Levitt (1999) shows that migration related social relationships connect those who sustain transnational identity with individuals who do not but who are usually however affected in one way or the other by the social movement of information and items. The concept of '*social field*' thus has problems with the view of strict confines in terms of locality regardless of whether it is national, transnational or global (Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004). Instead the social field perspective views these divisions as local because what is termed as local and distant is viewed to be operative on a daily basis in the lives of the individuals involved. Furthermore the view of cross-border in social field is also extended to individuals' behaviours being determined by not only two or more nation-states but also by other social phenomena like religion which may be operating in different nations and beyond their borders (Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004).

How then does social fields in migration issues link to elements of membership and citizenship? Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004, p1008) assert: *"While states grant membership through laws that accord legal citizenship and nationality, people also make demands of states regardless of their legal status."* This implies that using the view of nation-state which is dependent on elements of rights and formal membership disregards individuals who influence and are influenced by issues linked to the nation-state even when they may not formally be members. The term *'transborder citizens'* is used by Glick-Schiller and Fouron (2001) to refer to such individuals who may not have formal membership to both home and host countries but who portray a level of socially citizenship in either or both nation-states. Furthermore Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004, p1009) argue:

"... Transborder citizens' multiple experiences of governmentality and political socialization do not occur in isolation from one another. Persons in transnational social fields are exposed to different ideas of citizen rights and responsibilities and different histories of political practice. As a result, they enter the political domain with a broader repertoire of rights and responsibilities than citizens who live only within one state."

As a result, *'transborder citizens'* may influence governance ideas either in the host country or in the home country and sometimes in both. The varied ideas related to citizenship and membership which they possess is reconstructed in response to the prevailing environments in the country of settlement.

2.5 WELLBEING THEORY

The notion of wellbeing has gradually gained great attention from scholars in different fields of study. For a long time wellbeing has been explained mainly by economists through the use of Gross National Product (GNP) which implies that as a nation's Gross National Income increases, the level of happiness of its people continue to increase (Haggart, 2000). While this framework has in the

past been important in explaining happiness levels of different nations, it has however been criticized in the contemporary period based on the argument that when increases in GDP reach to a given level, further increases are not associated with increased happiness (Diener and Oishi, 2000). Furthermore scholars (Kahneman and Krueger, 2006) assert that economists only assess peoples' actual choices and the decisions they have already made and disregard their perceived intentions, that is, they disregard peoples' subjective perceptions of what appeals to them and what does not. As a result scholars have ventured to explore issues to do with wellbeing especially as defined by the individual which is popularly known as Subjective Wellbeing (SWB). The importance of subjective wellbeing measures is articulated in the words of Kahneman and Krueger (2006, p4):

"While various measures of wellbeing are useful for some purposes, it is important to recognize that subjective wellbeing measures features of individuals' perceptions of their experiences, not their utility as economists typically conceive of it. Those perceptions are a more accurate gauge of actual feelings if they are reported closer to the time of, and in direct reference to, the actual experience".

This indicates the importance of taking into consideration the perceptions of how happy people perceive themselves to be instead of conclusions based on economic figures which may be contradictory to individuals' real experiences. Gasper (2004) has argued that currently there is considerable scholarship based on wellbeing and because it is a new field of study, definition and conceptual framework surrounding this area are still not well defined. While terms like 'happiness' 'life satisfaction' and 'joy' feature in many definitions, Gasper (2004) points out that wellbeing has also been described in expressions like 'well-living', 'well-feeling' and 'well-having' and this appears to support rather than contradict the former. In the light of this kind of view, McGregor (2004) asserts that it is therefore important that wellbeing is viewed as both 'outcome' and

'process' and that these two should be given consideration when exploring wellbeing.

A wellbeing theory by Marks et al. (2004) assert that wellbeing can be explored through the use of three concepts namely: peoples' satisfaction with life, which has to do with perceptions in line with happiness, joy, and levels of satisfaction; individuals' personal development which implies people being curious and having a purpose in life; social wellbeing reflected through perceptions of having a sense of belonging in the community they live in.

Ryan and Deci (2000) have reviewed the hedonic and eudaimonic conceptions of wellbeing. They argue that reported subjective wellbeing consists of two components namely; affective part also called the hedonic and which consists of positive affect and the absence of negative affect. This is evaluated on the basis of individuals' emotions and feelings. The second component is the cognitive part also known as the eudemonic which evaluates the report of people of the extent to which their expectations in life are met as they pursue what is commonly known as the 'ideal' life. In their work Ryan and Deci (2000) further assert that the wellbeing framework of *'self determination theory'* has three essentials; autonomy, competence and relatedness which primarily focus on eudaimonic feature of wellbeing. McGregor (2004) asserts that these 3 essentials relate well with the *'Theory of human need'* by Doyal and Gough (1991) and takes this further to formulate a framework that explains both *'processes'* and *'outcome'* in wellbeing. This framework is founded on the dimensions of; *'material'*, *'the relational'* and *'the cognitive'* which McGregor argues can be translated into broad questions as below:

- ◆ *What do people have?*
- ◆ *What are they able to do with what they have?*
- ◆ *What do they think about both what they have and can do?* (McGregor, 2007, p346)

Wellbeing or lack of it is therefore viewed as the perception of individuals on what they have achieved or are able to achieve by doing what they are able to do with whatever resources at their disposal. In linking this framework to poverty issues, McGregor (2004, p346) argues that this kind of view allows for poverty to be explored not from the perspective of lacking, which usually evaluates people in low social economic circumstances on the basis of what they do not have but in his view: *'men, women and children [regardless of their social status] are active agents trying to construct a good life for themselves and others close to them.'*

A distinctive element employed by this framework is the exploration of how people engage various *'resources'* available to them in order to meet needs and have what McGregor refers to as *'a desired state of wellbeing'*. This means utilizing what the author terms as: *'a resource profiles approach (RPA)'*. In this view, the definition of the term *'resources'* goes beyond the view in economic terms and it therefore includes: *'material, human, environmental, social and cultural resources'* (McGregor, 2004, p346). The resource profiles approach avoids the use of the term *'capital'* as used in economics and prefers instead to use the term *'resources'* with the point of view that for resources, its meaning and value is negotiated within particular social contexts. This is because the quality and value of relationships is in their actual realization, that is the quality and value is experienced as people practically engage in relationships. This approach is further valuable in the understanding of how people in circumstances of low levels of material and human resources usually operate. Under such conditions McGregor (2004) argues that the importance of social and cultural resources becomes greater. This is because under material poverty, people utilize *'survival strategies'* by using what is available in terms of material or human resources in the production of social relationships as argued by Lawson, McGregor, and Saltmarshe (2000).

In giving consideration to migrants and wellbeing, Bhugra (2004) asserts that coping mechanisms of migrants are determined by the factors which triggered migration, level of preparation to migrate and migrants' access to social support and further adds that the attitude that migrants receive in the host country contributes to their level of stress and how they deal with it. The intention in this study (as relates to wellbeing) as revealed in the foregoing critical analysis and based on especially McGregor's (2004, p348) view is to explore the different resources the Kenyan migrants in the UK have at their exposure and which they employ and term as important in their maintenance of '*resilience*'. According to Bartley (2006) resilience has to do with being positive, which is the ability of individuals to deal with '*risk factors*' to reduce the impact of risk on outcomes and Friedli (2009) adds that it can be at individual or community level with resultant characteristic of '*resistance*' to elements negatively affecting '*health*' for instance prejudice.

2.6 TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY AND WELLBEING

Scholars have argued that there appears to be a link between transnational identity and wellbeing. Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, and McDermott (2005, p7) have defined ethnic identity as '*a subjective belief in a common descent... whether or not an objective blood relationship exists*'. They argue that the degree to which individuals consider themselves to have an ethnic identity can vary dramatically within the same cultural group. In a multicultural society, many people hold two or more cultural identities and such individuals move between different cultural meaning systems in response to prevailing situations. Erikson (1968) holds that identity is not a static construct but one that continues to develop through out a person's lifetime and based on this author's work, identity has three stages of development: diffusion stage refers to a level when a person holds only a limited understanding or commitment to ethnic group; moratorium stage is when a more detailed exploration of ethnic background is undertaken by an individual; achieved stage where ethnic

membership is valued by an individual and ethnicity is seen as the most important social identity. Achieved stage entails a high level of self-understanding by means of integration of several forms of identity into a harmonious whole.

An achieved level of ethnic identity has been linked to positive outcomes like self-esteem, personal confidence, purpose in life, academic achievement, less substance abuse, lower youth aggression, protection against racism or stereotyping, and psychosocial adjustment (Kennedy, 2006). The achieved level of ethnic identity has shown correlations with subjective wellbeing through self-esteem, for instance, Tajfel (1981) argues that ethnic identity is linked to individuals' wellbeing because it forms a strong base which enables individuals to counter negative occurrences in their lives. Additionally, Heine, Lehman, Markus, and Kitayama (1999) assert that the way people obtain a sense of self-esteem depends on the cultural context in which they are involved, while Tajfel and Turner (1986) through their social identity theory assert that the primary purpose of an identity is to maintain and enhance personal self-esteem.

Other scholars (Phinney and Charia, 1992) hold that ethnic groups are endowed with their own rich culture, traditions and structure, which provide people with a sense of ethnic identity and higher levels of self-esteem. According to Reis, Sheldon, Gable, Roscoe and Ryan (2000) there is a potential link between ethnic identity and subjective wellbeing through personal relationships and sense of connectedness to others forms the framework from which life satisfaction judgments are made. Additionally, the development and maintenance of relationships through a collective such as ethnic group or family provide resources that help to counter the effects of negative life events (Putman, 1995; Wilkinson, 1999).

2.7 GIFT EXCHANGE THEORY

The notion of transnational exchange explored in this study is linked to gift giving. It is reflected through support provision by Kenyan migrants in the UK to chronically ill relatives in Kenya. The notion of gift giving is not a new area of study in literature and it is viewed as complex (Mauss, 1950; Titmuss, 1970). According to Mauss (1950) in many archaic societies people exchanged gifts which in theory are perceived as voluntarily presented but practically they carry an obligation to be reciprocated. The economy of the archaic societies is different from the economy we have today in that gift exchange is a complex behaviour usually done not only by individuals but also by '*collectivities*' who to use Mauss's (1950, p5) words: "... *impose obligations of exchange and contract upon each other*". Under such circumstances, exchange is not just for economic purposes but it is an area of: "*a much more general and enduring contract*".

How a gift, usually given supposedly with no strings attached, ends up provoking reciprocation is difficult to understand and one can only try to grasp such a meaning from scholars in this field like Mauss (1950) who asserts that presents, gifts or things that people exchange are active, which implies that even when the giver gives and forgets, there is still a part of him in the gift; a part of the giver follows the gift and provokes reciprocity from the receiver. Gift exchange therefore carries with it the obligation to give and the obligation to receive. When gifts are presented, people are expected to receive them and: '*To refuse to give ... is to reject the bond of alliance and commonality*' (Mauss, 1950, p13). Furthermore Titmuss (1970, p72) argues that for men and women both in the past and in the contemporary, gift giving aims: "*to express affection, regard or loyalty; to unify group; to bind the generations; to fulfil a contractual set of obligations and rights; to function as acts of penitence, shame or degradation, and to symbolize many other human sentiments.*"

This implies that underlying the issues of gift exchange, unspoken as this may be is the social obligation woven in the group forces, implying to give and to reciprocate which if not adhered to result in elements of '*dishonour*', '*shame*' and '*guilt*'. Titmuss (1970) further asserts that social relations based on gift exchange are powerful forces in forming strong bonds for social groups. Elsewhere, Schwartz (1967) asserts that gift exchange is linked to identity and through gift the identity that individuals confer on others is revealed.

2.8 REMITTANCES

Remittances have often been defined as the money that migrants working abroad send to their home countries, which have been linked to between 5 and 40 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in those countries (Hagen-Zanker and Siegel, 2007). Literature on remittances (Lucas and Stark, 1985) show that motivation to remit includes: pure altruism and pure self-interest. Altruism related motives are linked to the satisfaction that migrants experience when they remit to family in their home country, while self-interest motives relate to where remitting is done to benefit the migrant, for instance through investing in home country. However motives related to each of these elements cannot be separately identified because as Lucas and Stark (1985) argue, they are embedded into each other, leading these authors to go for what they refer to as: "*tempered altruism or enlightened self-interest in which remittances are one element in a self-enforcing arrangement between migrant and home*" (Lucas and Stark 1985, p901). In this view remittances are viewed as: payment of household resources used to enable migration possible; as risk-sharing or co-insurance and also as contributing to investment resources in the family (Haas, 2007).

In their work, Fan and Stark (2007) argue that having a similar culture and language enable individuals to converse productively and to relate to one another which imply enhanced level of integration. These authors additionally assert that for migrants, such levels of integration in their country of settlement

may mean increases in their resources, for instance through acquiring better paying jobs. Following this kind of view, Fan and Stark (2007, p56) in their model of assimilation use elements of '*relative deprivation*' and '*interpersonal comparisons*' and articulate: "*The more effort a migrant exerts in assimilating into the mainstream culture the closer he will be in social space to the natives and the farther away he will be from his fellow migrants.*" However given high levels of inequality which often exist between native population and migrants, the latter may eventually be discouraged from integrating. Interpersonal comparisons in this case may mean large income gaps between the host population and migrants. Fan and Stark (2007) opts to use migrant not as a single individual but at a household level, therefore arguing that migrants often through altruism remit to family members and that the satisfaction they derive from this enables them to assimilate in the host country, in essence the authors argue that the more altruistic a migrant becomes, the more the level of assimilation is enhanced. It appears like these authors are using the term assimilation to refer to elements of integration by migrants in the host country while at the same time maintaining links with home country. Maintaining strong links with family in the home country may therefore contribute to migrants' increased levels of assimilation and hence to their wellbeing in the host country (Stark, 2009).

2.9 BELONGING

Bhugra (2004) asserts that when migrants' culture comes into contact with the new culture in the host country, their ethnic identity may change and this may result in the migrants developing a sense of belonging and the extent of this change is termed as '*acculturation*'. Bhugra (2004) further adds that for an individual migrant this may be witnessed in the area of language, religion, food and sometimes shopping habits. Belonging closely relates to identity issues and it is important especially in relation to current migrants to unravel it up in order to situate the circumstances under which they have to negotiate belonging.

There is a reflection that although belonging is in general contentious for mankind with questions like; *what is my identity? Who am I?* being very common, the extent of this contention is greater for migrants. This is because of high levels of mobility and instability associated with migrants which is linked by Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2007, p97) to: *"... an endless search for belonging to the constantly changing other, as well as having to cope with constantly shifting legal and bureaucratic requirements for social acceptance and divergent parameters for recognition."* As a result these authors advocate that in studying belonging, linking it to *'identification'* rather than *'identity'* is preferred with the argument that the former allows one to assess migrants' identity as a multi-level, which denotes a *'process'* as opposed to identity which implies a *'condition'*. For many migrants belonging is reflected in a continuum, a process, and a range and it is important to explore it from this perspective. Jones and Krzyzanowski (2007) conceptualize the process of belonging as entailing, first *'a tentative and random attachments'*, second *'a range of feelings of belonging'* and third as *'legal forms of membership'*. This shows that achieving a sense of belonging is a process.

In their report based on belonging in contemporary Britain, Buonfino and Thomson (2007, p5) observe it is a challenge to achieve a level where people feel recognized and have a sense of belonging in the groups, communities and institutions in which they belong or work, this they argue is mainly because: *'As travel becomes within the reach of most people and communication technologies enable people to be immersed in cultures located elsewhere, and to cultivate multiple identities, the question of belonging becomes more complex and more central to the debate on how we live together.'* This indicates the importance of studying belonging among migrants not only for academic purposes but also for policy makers in order to as Buonfino and Thomson (2007) see it, formulate a framework that will enable people to have a sense of belonging reflected through recognition and comfort in the environments they live in, work and interact with others.

As the report by Buonfino and Thomson (2007) reflects, belonging is a challenge not only to migrants in the UK but also to the nationals, however as mentioned earlier the challenge in such a case is usually more for migrants given the circumstances under which they usually live. Some of the reasons highlighted in this report for this level of challenge are; the wearing away of the basic strong local ties of friends, family and neighbours due to high levels of mobility both within the country and internationally; competition of social activities has meant that alternative activities are preferred to former activities that made people meet regularly, for instance church activities, voluntary services and cultural activities are now replaced with others; inequality and residential segregation which means poor economic openings for some groups. It is therefore important that how Kenyan migrants in the UK perceive belonging and what they do about their perceptions is assessed with this kind of understanding.

2.10 MIGRATION ISSUES

Generally, issues of international migration are currently powerfully discussed publicly or through policy by many countries of the world. Evidence from literature (Castles and Miller, 2003; Robins, 2006) has shown that international migration has gone through diverse changes with time. Current migrants generally tend to be dispersed to more than one country and the outcome is a wide distribution of particular groups across Europe and beyond. The nature and level of transnational connectivity and connectedness hugely characterizes the current migrants. Different names are used by various scholars in reference to these migrants for instance; Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999) identify them as “transnational communities”.

Castles and Miller (2003) have referred to the current state as the new migration, while Pennix, Spencer, and Van Hear (2008) call it new geography of migration. The current state of affairs in migration is in such a way that groups

and pathways of immigration are very varied. Migrants arrive in host countries from different parts of the world and due to different reasons: expatriate skilled workers, refugees and asylum seekers, students and undocumented workers. This has led to increased heterogeneity which Vertovec (2006) labels as super-diversity. Such changes in migration as outlined above have not occurred without great impact in migrants' settlement and participation in the country of residence.

Migrants' settlement and participation has been explained through different perspectives in time, first through the rationale of assimilation and then through ethnic pluralism. Assimilation theories hold that migrants are able to put behind them their ways of doing things and adapt the culture of the host country. Ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism theories argue that migrants cannot just leave behind their culture and adapt the culture of the host country. They argue for an environment where migrants are allowed to maintain their cultural values side by side with the culture of the host community. All these views are based on the functioning of nation-states and today these notions face great challenges in trying to explain migrants' settlement and participation. This has largely been due to the challenge presented by the current migrants' behaviour which is greatly linked to activities that transcend boundaries of nation-states, a distinct feature in transnationalism. Hall (1996) contends that changes in migrants' settlement and participation are influenced both by processes of the world, policies of the nation-states and also by individuals. The latter do this through their demands and goals for improved lives. He further adds that current migrants request various ways of acknowledgement of their presence in the host country.

Migration to Europe: Robins (2006) argues that due to economic, political and cultural reasons Europe has been an increasingly attractive destination for both economic and forced migration from diverse parts of the world and a similar sentiment is echoed by Penninx et al. (2008). Penninx and his colleagues

further assert that, up to 1980s migration was first linked to colonial backgrounds connecting nations in Europe to countries they had colonized. Afterwards, migration was driven by the demand for labour which was from a given number of sending nations. The third element is linked with refugee migration, strongly dominated by refugees migrating from Eastern parts to the Western parts of Europe.

2.11 UK MIGRATION LEGISLATION AND POLICY

According to different authors in migration studies, immigration policy is said to be highly ranked on the political agenda of not only the UK but also most of other European states (Sales, 2007; Cohen, 1994). This has been as a result of changes in the nature of migration and increases in the number of migrants. As a result, immigration policy is basically concerned with exclusion and inclusion and Sales (2007, p3) refers to it as a way of: *"... defining insiders and outsiders in relation to entry to the nation state and the access of non-citizens to rights within that state."* It is through a nation's immigration policy that the process by which migrants attain citizenship is outlined.

2.11.1 Migration to the UK before 1960s

Britain has traditionally been a country of immigration, often a destination for people seeking asylum. As early as the 16th Century French Protestants fled religious persecution in France seeking sanctuary in Britain (Adelman, 1999). They were followed by refugees fleeing political upheavals in Europe, for example, Jewish people from Russia, Poland, Austria and Romania, as well as large numbers of Irish people fleeing poverty and famine, and seeking work. During the 1800s and early 1900s migrant workers were attracted to industrialising nations in Western Europe; British industry was expanding and the desire for labour negated the need for immigration controls (Kerrigan, 2005). Control of immigration to Britain barely existed prior to the Aliens Act of

1905, the first piece of legislation to define and restrict the entry of immigrants who began to be blamed for unemployment.

During the inter-war period (1918-1939) international labour migration reduced as a consequence of economic stagnation. However, during the 1930s refugees came to Britain from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. These were mainly refugees fleeing from political persecution and especially Jews from Germany after the Nazis came to power in 1933 (Cohen, 1994). The atrocities on the Second World War brought more refugees to Britain, often labour migrants recruited initially from refugee camps and from Italy (Castles and Miller, 2003). Following the Second World War in 1945 Western European countries encouraged migration from the periphery of Europe and former colonies in order to assist with post-war construction (Castles and Miller, 2003). A crucial piece of immigration legislation was the British Nationality Act (1948) which allowed commonwealth members to acquire British citizenship and the associated civil, political and social rights. This prompted labour migration from the Caribbean, India and Pakistan; these migrants received a mixed welcome and many experienced mistreatment, prejudice and marginalisation in different areas of their lives (Wrench and Solomos, 1993).

Migration from the Caribbean, the Indian sub-continent and Africa increased during the 1950s, and then reduced after 1962 following the restrictions imposed by the Commonwealth Act of that year. Two further pieces of legislation in 1968 and 1971 required immigrants to have close family connections in Britain. The oil crisis of 1973-4 heralded a period of economic recession and Western European governments ceased to actively recruit foreign and colonial workers. These successive Acts thus sought to establish control over the opportunities that had been afforded by the 1948 Act (Cohen, 1994). By this stage the expectation that immigrants would either return to their countries of origin when no longer required, or assimilate into the dominant culture were not fulfilled (Castles, 2003). A system of chain migration had been

set in motion by family reunion, and second and third generations of migrant families began to emerge and form communities with distinct displays of culture (Castles, 2000), making Britain to become multicultural.

The UK migration policies before the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 and 1968 were therefore not restrictive in nature. During this period, migration of workers from commonwealth countries was not restricted by law and migrants especially from the Caribbean continued to migrate to the UK responding to labour market demand (Flynn, 2002). This continued until restrictive measures begun to be put in place. Subsequently legislation relating to migration has become increasingly restrictive, if somewhat piecemeal (Flynn, 2005). More recently, one aim of policy has moved towards better management of migration, focusing on Britain's economic interests, and reduction in the potential for seeking asylum (Flynn, 2005).

2.11.2 Commonwealth immigrants Act 1962 and 1968

The current UK immigration policy has its' foundations on a legislation dating 40 years back which was mainly set against migrants from Commonwealth nations. According to Cohen (1994) and Flynn (2002) this was the Commonwealth immigrants Act 1962 and the one which followed known as 1968 common wealth immigrants Act. Political debates surrounding these legislations were not economic in nature but in regard to the colour of the majority of the migrants during this time. The development of immigration control policies around the 1960s developed as a political project and according to Flynn (2008, p6) *"it was within the power of politicians to determine who should and should not be admitted to the UK and to enforce these decisions through a control regime"*. Cohen (1994) asserts that the immigration acts of the 1960s were basically meant to especially restrict migrants from the black commonwealth nations rather than the white commonwealth nations.

2.11.3 *Immigration Act 1971*

According to literature (Cohen, 1994), restrictive approach to migration in the UK by the government continued after 1968 and using similar arguments the government established the 1971 Immigration Act not only to strengthen the previous legislation Acts but also to elaborate more on them. This act was based on the view that;

- ◆ There was no longer any demand for large-scale labour migration in the UK
- ◆ There should be restriction of family re-unification thus limiting it to certain conditions
- ◆ That other procedure for immigration could be drafted at the discretion of immigration ministers with the long term intention of managing migration and this was reflected in deportation of commonwealth citizens for the purpose of '*the public good*'. Additionally, the wife and children of a deportee would also be deported even if they were totally innocent of any wrongdoing.

The 1971 Act was established in a time of economic recession of mid 1970s caused by oil crisis and restructuring of industry which as a result meant lower demands for labour. Further more there was reduction in public sector labour force due to reduction in public spending. This implies therefore that even without the government restricting migration, the levels would be expected to go down by themselves but instead migration levels increased during this time.

2.11.4 *Family reunification*

Cohen (1994) argues that although migration levels were expected to decrease due to the economic crisis coupled with the new restrictive legislation of 1971 Act, the levels continued to increase. This is because during this period many migrants concentrated on family reunification before the actual date when the 1971 Act was to start being operational, migration during this period is said to have tripled. Between the 70s and the 80s family reunification of migrants

became a major migration issue in the UK and this led to the establishment of the Nationality Act 1981 and the Immigration Act of 1988 with the intention of putting restrictions on family reunification. Instead of migrants opting to go back to their home countries during this economic downturn, many decided to stay and invite other family members to join them. There were many complications associated with family reunification because immigration officials in their pursuit of being restrictive put claims that migrants were not related to those they claimed to be relatives (Cohen, 1994).

The British Nationality Act 1981, which was enacted in 1983, distinguishes between British citizen and British overseas Territories citizen. For the former nationality is through one's descent and for the latter nationality is through other means apart from by descent. Through this Act, individuals who are citizens through their ancestors are not eligible to directly have a child born out of the UK to be UK citizens, with migration officials having the power to make the final decision, with refusal not eminent if they were not contented with one's nationality and identity.

2.11.5 1990s – Large scale immigration

The 1990s witnessed a reversal of the 1971 Act which was restrictive in nature. The main reason was a high growth of the service sector as a result of liberal labour markets with the implication that there was increased demand for labour. Further more migration was also facilitated by cheaper means of transport and improved technology in terms of communication. The collapse of the Berlin wall around this time meant that the UK experienced increased entry of migrants due to the outward migration from the so called '*repressive states*'. Flynn (2002) asserts that most European nations during this time did not update their immigration policies to embrace the changing circumstances of the time and especially in matters to do with the asylum seekers (who by virtue of the 1951 convention had a right to apply for protection).

Although there were new political instability issues in many nations including Serbia, Bosnia and Kosovo, many European governments including the UK continued to hold that migrants especially Asylum seekers were in search of better life economically which to them was only available in the West. In view of this line of thinking, Cooley, Farrant and Sriskandarajah, (2005) assert that the UK government continually aims at altering the factors which according to them appear to pull asylum seekers, this means introducing a system where by asylum seekers were given minimum standards of accommodation and welfare and restrictions to join the labour market. New immigration Acts were put in place namely; The Asylum and immigration (Appeals) Act 1993; The Asylum and immigration Act 1996 and the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999. All these were meant to reduce the reception circumstances of refugees, consequently implying: that refugees will no longer receive support through the mainstream support schemes; were made to use vouchers; were dispersed from the cities they chose to settle and some were detained while waiting for their applications to be processed (Nygothi, 2004).

2.11.6 Managed migration policy – late 1990s

According to Pennix et al. (2008) managed migration refers to migrants allowed in the UK as work permit holders and other legal visas. This usually accounts for a considerable proportion of the total migrant figures in the UK. Migrants who hold such visas usually have skills especially the ones in which the UK is experiencing shortages. This section of immigration is controlled by Work Permits (UK), which is one of the departments of the Home Office. In addition, Pennix et al. (2008) further asserts that there are other related schemes; points based system called the Highly Skilled Migrant Program (HSMP); working holiday visa; UK ancestry entry clearance. Literature (Cooley, Farrant and Sriskandarajah, 2005) has shown that managed migration policies are aimed to open doors to the highly skilled. In view of this, current UK immigration policy has created severe restrictions for people with low or no skills and especially those migrating from the third world countries like the ones in Africa. While the

mobility of, for instance; the highly skilled, tourists and business people is made easy and even promoted, other types of migrants are continuously termed as less wanted despite the fact that they are influenced by similar processes of globalization and are in search of environments that are both economically and politically better. In reference to this level of treatment, Pennix et al. (2008, p3) argues:

"In their case [referring to migrants from third world countries especially Africa] national boundaries and borders and the sovereign rights of states on admission of non-nationals have gained importance and have led to increasing barriers."

'Managed migration' policies are closely linked to New Labour and are usually known as 'New Labour Strategy'. After election in 1997, Labour majored on modernization and through its White paper policy of 1998 promised a modern way of handling immigration and asylum. Flynn (2005, 2008) argues that this legislation implied that 'fairness' was paramount and this appears to mean 'fastness' for migrants termed as legitimate and 'firmness' for those assumed to be misusing the migration system for their gain, in this case the asylum seekers from third world countries.

The restrictions placed on refugees did not go well with the New Labour government. Police and teachers portrayed their discontentment with what they called 'racial tensions' while the health sector reported of poor health among refugees and asylum seekers (Flynn, 2005). This prompted the establishment of a new legislation in 2002 by the then Home Secretary David Blunkett which is popularly known as 'Secure borders, Safe Haven' which was also accompanied by the removal of the use of vouchers by the asylum seekers and introduction of cash payments instead (Flynn, 2005). During this time the events surrounding September 11 were still fresh in the political sphere and security formed a major part of the 2002 white paper. The government continued to

insist in this legislation that their main concern was to open avenues for economic migrants in the UK and to restrict asylum seekers' entry. As a result increased migration of work permit holders was encouraged during this time as the government insisted of its desire to have, as Flynn (2005, p464) puts it *'British employers to lead the world in competing for the brightest and best workforce'*. This consequently implied that migrants with low skills are not welcome and this presumably points to asylum seekers whose majority have low skills or have qualifications not recognized in the UK and who at this period of time appear to be originating from the third world countries, particularly Africa.

2.11.7 Capped migration

Capped migration is a notion linked to the current view towards migrants and which continues to reflect *'restrictive migration'* measures in the UK. An online newspaper article, Glendinning (2008) revealed how the UK immigration minister (Phil Woolas) was calling for a cap on newcomers (migrants) and further asserts: *"It's been too easy to get into this country in the past and it's going to get harder."* In explaining his notion of capped migration, the minister insists that the government will not allow the population of Britain to grow up to 70 million and beyond. It is important that we view this notion as an extension of 'managed' or *'restrictive'* migration policies. An IPPR report by Mulley (2010) outlines what it means to introduce a cap on migration and explores some of the complications that would accompany a migration cap. One complication would be the barrier aimed at stopping genuine asylum seekers especially from politically unstable third world countries to enter the UK and apply for asylum, thus compromising their human rights.

Table 2: The development of migration policies in the UK

YEAR & NAME OF POLICY	BRIEF DESCRIPTION
1905 – Aliens Act: excluded 'undesirable aliens'	This was the first Act barring entry to Britain. It was mainly established to control the Jews and the 'undesirable aliens' i.e. those who could not support themselves and their dependants, including those with disease or infirmity.
1914 – Aliens Act	This Act was meant to empower the 1905 Act by placing rigid controls over the registration, movement and deportation of all aliens. Under the same Act, deportation was allowed.

1919 Aliens Restriction Act	<p>The intention of this Act was to be more deterrent in offering employment to aliens.</p> <p>Additionally powers for deportation of foreigners already in the UK were given to the home secretary and foreigners had no right to initiate any '<i>industrial unrest</i>'.</p> <p>Other measures of the Act included banning foreigners from taking jobs as civil servants or juries. The Act introduced punishment for foreigners who portrayed '<i>disaffection</i>' of the common population and for those who were involved in initiating work related protests.</p>
1948 – British Nationality Act	This Act was meant to empower the status of a Citizen of the UK and colonies. It distinguished British subjects from British subjects without citizenship. This resulted to people from India and Pakistan being made subject to immigration controls unlike before the Act.
1962 – Commonwealth immigrants Act	This Act was meant to control immigrants from the non-white commonwealth countries. Most common wealth countries especially black common wealth nations were made subject to immigration controls. This is an unfair way of controlling migration – a migration policy based on the colour of the skin.
1968	This Act made the entrance of common wealth people illegal if caught within 28 days. They would consequently be subject to administrative removal. This was established to hasten the removal of non-white immigrants from non-white common wealth countries.
1969 – Immigration Appeals Act	According to this Act, all those who had over stayed and other immigrants who had broken a condition of their leave to enter could be deported without being prosecuted.
1971 – Immigration Act	Right of abode in Britain was allowed to citizens of the UK and colonies and common wealth citizens who had a parent or grand parent who was born in the UK
1981 – British Nationality Act	This Act came into force in January 1983 and it introduced for the first time in British immigration history, the notion of the law of blood. This meant that people born in Britain of non-British citizens do not automatically acquire British Nationality and citizenship. This breached the long standing principle that birth place confers citizenship.
1988 – Immigration Act	This Act had a number of issues: Polygamous wives should no longer have the right of abode in the UK, Constrained the right of appeal against deportation for those seeking refugee status and over-stayers who have been in the UK for more than 7 years were denied appeal.
July 1998 – Fairer, faster and firmer – A modern approach to immigration and Asylum	This was the first white paper on immigration policy by the Labour Government. It was produced in 1997 but was launched in 1998.
February 2002 – Secure borders, safe haven – integration with diversity in modern Britain	This document set out for the first time the UK Government's approach to managed migration policies. Its establishment coincided with the events of September 2001 in America and this was used as a justification to ensure secure borders and to insist on integration
2005 – Controlling our borders: Making migration work for Britain – Five year strategy for asylum and immigration	<p>By the beginning of 2005 the Government was under pressure to revise its approach to managed migration. This led to the launching of this policy paper.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proposed that immigration will be allowed only when it is in the country's interest and prevented when it is not. This puts a question mark to the issue of fairness. Those who settle permanently in the UK will have to prove their long-term profit to our country. Integration of migrants will be accessed. Passing English language tests and knowledge of the life in the UK will be mandatory as a reflection of social integration of migrants. This works against those who do not have knowledge of the English language.
March 2006 – A points-Based system: Making migration work for Britain.	This policy was launched to simplify the complexities of managed migration schemes, consolidating more than 80 work and study routes into five tiers. The main target was to remove those whose asylum applications have failed.
July 2006 – Fair, effective, transparent and trusted: Rebuilding confidence in our immigration system	This policy led to the Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND) being transformed into a 'Delivery Agency'- working for the more effective enforcement of immigration policy.
2007 – UK border Act	<p>The UK borders Act was not different from its predecessor Act. This is because this Act empowered immigration officials and reduced the rights and powers of individuals who were seeking legal status through increased punishment. For instance through the introduction of biometric ID cards.</p> <p>Further more there was dispersion of those subject to immigration control and they were also subjected to a system of reporting to earn the right to continue to stay in the UK.</p>

Source: Cohen (1994), Sales (2007)

In view of the foregoing discussion, migration policies in the UK have consistently been formulated as reactions to prevailing conditions. This implies that there has never been a migration policy formulated to consistently guide the flow of migrants into the country. This is further complicated by the unpredictable nature of migration flows and migration sources. Flynn (2008, p6) refers to this as '*responsive legislation*' and asserts:

"The extremely problematic nature of 'responsive legislation' as a driving force for policy in complex areas of social life is well accounted for in the academic literature on risk analysis and management ... immigration is an area of life where the concept of 'risk' is inevitably ill-defined because of the multiple range of dimensions of perceived and actual risk associated with population flows".

2.12 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KENYA AND THE UK

The main issues to be considered in this section will be an exploration of the colonial history of Kenya, the attainment of Independence and a description of the legacy of colonialism and the situation of Kenyans in the UK.

2.12.1 Colonial history

Before the arrival of the colonial masters, the great majority of the African people lived in rural communities. They had their indigenous technical knowledge and equipment, which though different from what colonialism introduced, were complex and proper to enable them handle their day to day lives. Their main tools were the hoe, the digging stick and the axe. Although complicated technological equipment was in short supply land was in plenty. Their form of education was done through socialization and most of it was oral education, there were no schools to attend as we see today. With the coming of the Europeans and later the colonization of many of African countries, major

changes were experienced in many of the African countries. Sobania (2003) argues that through the introduction of new technology, the system of farming was changed and in many parts of Kenya for example, the original ethnic groups were resettled in crowded villages. This was done to allow extensive portions of land to be used for agriculture especially for cash crop farming which would later be exported by the colonialists to enrich their mother countries.

The health system also changed. This was as a result of new methods of treatment which were introduced by the colonialists. In Kenya, like in other African countries new Western technology was introduced in the health sector. The indigenous people were introduced to hospitals and clinics where they would deal with medical practitioners who would often not speak their local language. Additionally, use of medical equipments was introduced. This was very different from the traditional methods of healing which Kenyans were used to (Sobania, 2003; Mbatia and Bradshaw, 2003). With the settling down of colonialists, many Kenyans were faced with health challenges which they had not experienced before. A good example is where the clearing of forests led to increased infestation of mosquitoes and eventually to many people contracting Malaria.

There were also political and economic changes associated with colonialism. While the system of government in Kenya comprised of each ethnic group having their own council of elders who would maintain law and order, the colonial government introduced the Western system of government and disregarded the former system as uncivilized. Although the ethnic groups used to have ethnic tensions before the arrival of the colonialists in Kenya, the resettlement of the different groups and the assignment of the groups to different parts of the country intensified the tensions between the groups and the frequency of inter tribal conflicts. The use of currency in the economic sector also came into operation during the colonial administration. Traditional

transactions were based on mutual commodity exchanges among the different groups and this was easily done through the different products from different groups. For instance, the Kikuyu ethnic group would usually exchange their farm products with salt based products from the Maasai ethnic group (Sobania, 2003). With the introduction of hut tax by the colonialists, the men were forced to look for paid employment usually from the colonialists so that they could pay the tax. This forced many to leave their families in the villages and only be reunited after a month or over the weekends.

The system of education based on the western model was introduced by the colonialists. Many Kenyan people were encouraged to send their children to school to learn subjects mostly related with the European way of life. For instance they started learning mathematics and English. This had diverse effects in the community. Since traditional agricultural production greatly depended on labour, sending children to school meant reduced labour and consequently reduced production in terms of crops and animals. Educated children started taking up office jobs in line with the goals and objectives of the colonial masters. Since office jobs were mostly available in the urban areas, many people were forced to leave their families to go and search for jobs in the major cities, thus increased levels of rural urban migration.

2.12.2 Independence

It was evident during the colonial period that the changes which were brought by the colonialists had greatly affected many of the traditional ways of doing things among the indigenous people. Many people were not satisfied with the drastic changes and their assessment of the colonial masters' way of doing things made them realize that the colonial masters were not ready to leave easily. As a result many of the people started grouping themselves to fight back the colonialists and regain their independence. One of the major groups formed in Kenya for this purpose was the '*Mau Mau*' which was formed in 1958 mainly by people from the Kikuyu ethnic group. The '*Mau Mau*' resisted the white

man's rule and organized to fight back despite the fact that they did not have powerful war equipments like guns which the colonial masters possessed. Continued strife among the colonialists and the indigenous people eventually led to the declaration of Kenya as an independent country in 1963.

2.12.3 Legacy of colonialism

Evidence has shown that colonialism had complex impacts in the nations of those colonized. The countries which were colonized by the British people are popularly known as the commonwealth nations. Sobania (2003) asserts that in cultural terms, traces of their colonial history have symbolic manifestations such as the use western clothes instead of the traditional clothes. Sobania further adds that currently in Kenya, there is the emphasis of elite school education, European language proficiency, a particular notion of social based good manners linked to Europeans and choice of sports, leadership skills and an engagement in local politics in addition to family and kinship networks, metaphorically '*blood ties*', contributes to the making of the transnational habitus found today. The mobility of today's migrants continue to be prompted by professional and marital considerations, as in the colonial era when the family inhabited colonial space defined to a large extent by colonial interests in recruiting educated and skilled employees to serve the needs of the colonial empire.

An article which featured in the Washington post by Elkins (2008) argues that the problems currently being experienced in Kenya are partly linked to the experiences of colonialism from Britain and the associated colonial legacy. This is because besides democracy, Britain also introduced corruption in governments of their former colonies through for instance hand picking those they left in power after independence and who continued to follow the pace set by their colonial masters. Furthermore, Elkins (2008) asserts that Britain introduced the rule of law which is linked to tyranny, oppression and poverty instead of transparency in government departments.

2.13 SUMMARY

This chapter has detailed the available pertinent literature linked to this study. Definitions and principles governing the major concepts are explored to contextualize the study. While transnationalism is a concept widely used in migration studies, how it is employed in this study has been explained. The importance of going beyond the initial notions of transnationalism to conduct empirical studies relating to transnational identity and subjective wellbeing of current migrants in relation to their integration in the host country is highlighted. This is done with the understanding that while earlier theories relating to migrants adaptation are viewed here as inadequate, the concept of nation-state around which they are formed is not dismissed in this study for boundaries are necessary in situating cross border activities and so there is the acknowledgement that these theories supplement each other.

Additionally theories of gift exchange and belonging have been explored in order to contextualize the notion of provision of support. Issues to do with reciprocity and obligation and how they relate to the provision of support are laid out. This is with the understanding that in the perceptions related to gift giving, these themes are recurrent among participants. Additionally the belonging and how the migrants perceive their level of belonging in different settings determine the kind of identity that they will construct in their day to day lives.

A good understanding of migrants' integration in the host country is not feasible without a clear assessment of the migration policy which is operational in the host country; therefore a portion of this literature review chapter is dedicated to critically evaluating the migration issues and policies in the UK. As generally observed, migration policies form a major political issue of many governments in the world today and this is also true for the UK government where even in the current election campaign (March, April 2010) contention in the area of

migration is evident among not only the general public but also the politicians. Literature on the relationship between Kenya and the UK is also explored.

This review of literature has shown that migrants' integration into the host country ought to be understood within strategies that extend beyond the boundaries of a nation-state. This is important because it gives room to individuals' multiple identities and also embraces construction and maintenance of identity that transcends national boundaries. Furthermore literature also reveals that identity maintenance is linked to notions of individuals' wellbeing and that for migrants maintaining links with home country may be a source of wellbeing.

Therefore this study aims to investigate this claim by exploring how Kenyan migrants in the UK maintain links with relatives through provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya. Additionally this study will examine the impact of transnational identity maintenance on the wellbeing of migrants. The next chapter outlines the methodology employed in this study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to lay down the methodology employed to explore the pertinent issues of this study. This is done by first outlining the aims of the study, followed by the methodological design. The process of data collection is then examined to include data collection through: mapping exercise using a survey approach, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Ethical issues relevant to this study are also laid out. Data analysis, theorizing and verification also form part of this study. The chapter ends with a critical description of the reflexivity issues and a brief summary.

3.1 AIMS OF THE STUDY

Migrants' incorporation into host countries is an issue that has been studied widely resulting in diverse frameworks depending on different periods of time. While assimilation theories were prevalent before the era of globalization, multiculturalism and transnationalism theories accompany globalization. Contemporary migration scholars (Vertovec, 1999) however argue that there is need for development of new concepts in order to accommodate current migrants whose behaviour spans multiple boundaries. Transnational identity and wellbeing approaches are some of those concepts that endeavour to explore how migrants construct, nurture and maintain identity and wellbeing in their day to day lives. This study aims to investigate the increasingly complexity and importance of transnational identity through the experiences of Kenyan migrants living in the UK. The following are the specific aims:

1. To investigate the impact of transnational identity on the subjective wellbeing of Kenyan migrants in the UK. This is achieved through a critical examination of the relationship between the support they provide

to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya and how this impacts on their wellbeing.

2. To identify indicators of subjective wellbeing related to transnational identity

These aims are investigated by conducting ethnographic research to answer the following research questions;

1. What are the forms of support that migrants provide to their relatives in Kenya who have chronic illnesses?
2. How do migrants understand the nature of the support they provide?
3. Does provision of support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya by migrants facilitate the maintenance of transnational identity?
4. What impact does provision of support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya have on the wellbeing of migrants?

It is intended that this study will be instrumental in clarifying issues surrounding transnationalism and transnational identity which are important elements of international migration in the twenty first century. Consequently this study is meant to shed light on the link between transnational identity and migrants' wellbeing. Wright (2007) asserts that this is an under researched area in migration studies which warrants research. It is intended that the results of this study will be useful to health practitioners and policy makers in the UK and other countries while dealing with issues related to wellbeing of African migrants in general and specifically migrants from Kenya.

3.2 METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

There has been scholarship related to migrants' adaptation focusing on multiculturalism (Parekh, 1999), and transnationalism (Portes et al., 1999). Many of these studies however have overlooked the empirical exploration of migrants' perceptions in constructing transnational identity and in social remittances (Levitt, 1999; Lindley, 2009). This implies they have not considered how migrants construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity through

their act of remitting and how these aspects relate to their wellbeing. These factors are deemed necessary to understand and include in issues and policies which relate to migrants' adaptation in the host country. Such perceptions are better obtained from migrants as the key actors and this is what this study endeavours to achieve.

This study uses mixed methods, but it is predominantly qualitative. Data are collected in the initial stage through a mapping exercise which used a survey approach, the purpose of which is to help in mapping out the study. The survey acts as a baseline and allows the collection of data, which assists to inform this study more. Survey data were used together with information from the review of literature to inform the interview guide that was used in the semi-structured interviews. This was necessary for this study because literature on the link between transnational identity and wellbeing of Kenyan migrants was limited.

The second stage uses semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Through these methods, data collected were about the perceptions of the participants on transnational identity through providing support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya and how this influences their wellbeing. Marks' et al. (2004) model of subjective wellbeing shows that peoples' satisfaction with their lives, their personal development, and their social wellbeing can be explored through collecting data about the perceptions of the people concerning these elements. The transnational identity model (Haller and Landolt, 2005) used in this study asserts that, sense of belonging, sending remittances and collective behaviour can be understood better by interviewing the people concerned and collecting information about their perceptions on these issues. Wellbeing as defined by the participants and their perceptions of how transnational identity influences their wellbeing will be of major importance here. The semi-structured interviews and participant observations were conducted in what Patton (2002) calls '*natural setting*' which gives room to in-depth exploration and immersion in participants' perceptions and experience

bringing forth an understanding that reduces the level of assumptions and bias towards the cultural views of the participants.

A mixed method approach was deemed appropriate for answering the research questions which focused on how Kenyan migrants in the UK construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity. Semi-structured interviews and participant observation gathered data on support provision behaviour, keeping of links with family and friends in Kenya, which are important issues of belonging and wellbeing. Identifying how Kenyans construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity through provision of support and that this ultimately enhances their wellbeing, implies a strong knowledge base which is important and can be used when making decisions about not only the wellbeing of Kenyan migrants in the UK but also their process of integration in the host country.

This study employed a predominant qualitative approach because it was deemed appropriate in the investigation and analysis of concepts and themes related to transnational identity and wellbeing. This is because relatively little was known in this area and there was need for an in-depth understanding. The qualitative stage of this study was informed by Creswell (1998, p16) who identified various major characteristics of qualitative enquiry as:

- ◆ Natural setting – where the researcher focuses on the field as source of data
- ◆ Researcher is the key instrument of data collection
- ◆ Data are collected as words or pictures
- ◆ Outcome is a process rather than product
- ◆ Data are analyzed inductively
- ◆ The focus is on participants' perspectives which implies the meaning they give to the phenomena

These characteristics fitted well with the second stage of the current study and was one of the bases upon which the decision to utilize qualitative approach in

this stage was based. Furthermore elements of ethnography were also used in this phase of the study. Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004, p1007) argue:

"... Ethnography is particularly suited for studying the creation and durability of transnational social fields. Participant observation and ethnographic interviewing allow researchers to document how persons simultaneously maintain and shed cultural repertoires and identities; interact within location and across its boundaries ..."

Ethnography focuses on studying the structure and function of a group. While structure deals with how the group is organized, function lays out how the social relations operate including features to do with kinship (Wolcott, 2001). Typically ethnographic studies employ the use of interviews, observations and documents as the major tools of data collection and the aim of an ethnographer is to eventually develop what Wolcott (2001) refers to as a '*portrait*' of the group under study. This implies that what an ethnographer develops would enable an outsider to participate in the lives of the group studied with understanding. Ethnographic approach employed in this study is closely linked to anthropology which aims at exploring culture through being present in the cultural group to; participate, observe and document. Spradley (1979, 1980) asserts that exploring how a group constructs a phenomenon and the meaning they attach to what they construct through their behaviour is ethnography. The perceptions of the group being studied are central to ethnography and their view of reality is what is used to describe and understand their behaviour, popularly known in research as '*emic perspective*', which is the insider's view.

The notion of studying phenomena in what Patton (2002) calls '*natural setting*' is very important in ethnography. While this needed no debates for the traditional ethnographers, it can be thought to be hard to achieve for the practical ethnographer. Patton (2002) however argues that this is achieved through allowing the phenomena under study to unfold without manipulation.

This implies that observations should take place in their real settings and participants are interviewed in places and under conditions convenient and familiar to them. All the interviews and observations carried out in this study were done in their '*natural setting*' – the preference of the participants in terms of day, time, and venue was always given priority. Some scholars have criticized ethnographic research on the basis of lacking objectivity due to the close relationship of the researcher and the participants. However ethnographers argue that members in a given culture do not have an objective reality but reality is constructed through their everyday life happenings which ethnographers undertake to study (Spradley, 1979, 1980). Furthermore ethnography approach is employed here with the understanding that the Kenyan migrants in the UK are a cultural group. This study explores the transnational identity among the Kenyan migrants in order to understand their provision of support, that is, how they understand or interpret it, and their perceptions of how it relates to their wellbeing.

3.3 PROCESS OF DATA COLLECTION

3.3.1 Population

This study's population target was adult Kenyans, both males and females in the UK who have chronically ill relatives in Kenya and who regularly provide support to them. Although majority of the participants for this study reside in London, the survey had participants from, Oxford, Reading, Birmingham, and Coventry. Three of the participants for the semi-structured interviews reside outside London; one participant was from Coventry, another from Reading and one from Oxford. One of the fundraising events observed was located in Reading and the other events in London. In London, I interviewed participants from North London, East London, and South London. Therefore participants for this study were drawn from different parts of UK.

A comprehensive list of the criteria used to select participants is included elsewhere in this chapter under the section of sample. Since I started working on this project (June, 2006), I have had opportunities to discuss it with different people and especially among the Kenyan migrants in the UK from whom participants of this study were recruited. As a member and a leader in this Kenyan community I took the opportunity of any community events held to talk to individuals and groups about this study. This helped me to establish the existence of issues to be explored and to identify participants for this study. I met with organizers of '*ngwataniro*'/prayer meetings, also called fellowships and usually organized to pray for ill relatives in Kenya and '*harambees*', which are fundraising events organized to solicit funds to support ill relatives in Kenya who gave permission for events to be observed with the consent of the participants.

I made use of other community leaders to make people aware of the study and to link me with potential participants who I would then contact. Creswell (1998) asserts that key informants are important for purposes of information and contacts. After discussing my study with those contacted, upon agreeing to participate, we would agree on a convenient time and venue. I especially publicized the study through one of the Kenyans' popular community website (www.misterseed.com) which is frequently visited by many of the Kenyans in the UK. The coordinator of this website is one of the community leaders and after having discussed my study with him, he introduced me and talked about my study during events every time he had the opportunity. This enhanced publicity as some participants approached me directly after such events portraying their desire to participate. Pastors of Kenyan based churches, teachers originally from Kenya, women group leaders, some Kenyan based charity organization leaders, colleagues, and friends were all instrumental in connecting me to Kenyans who in some cases ended up being participants or linking me up to other potential participants.

3.3.2 Sampling

Sampling has to do with the issue of the subjects to be studied in the research project. According to Miles and Huberman (1994, p27), '*You cannot study everyone everywhere doing everything*'. This study used purposive sampling to ensure that the participants enlisted fully met the desired criteria of the study. This sampling method was used both in the mapping exercise which is the preliminary stage of this study and which employed a survey approach and during the semi-structured interviews. Purposive sampling is the strategy where the researcher aims at recruiting participants who hold key information regarding the phenomenon under study. For this study, I was keen to include in my sample Kenyans who had chronically ill relatives in Kenya and who regularly provide support to them. This is because such participants hold significant information related to transnational identity and its link to wellbeing. My position as a community leader was significant in enabling me to access participants during sampling.

This study also made use of purposive sampling to select community events for participant observation. There are usually different types of community events held by Kenyans in the UK and not all of them hold key information related to provision of support and transnational identity issues. I chose 'Harambee', which is a fundraising event and 'Ngwataniro', which is a fellowship or prayer meeting because these events are purposely organized to provide support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya. To use Patton's (2002) words, they are 'information rich' events linked to the phenomena of providing support, as well as to transnational identity and wellbeing.

Purposive sampling according to Patton (2002) makes use of '*information rich cases*'. These are participants which are well suited in terms of meeting all the criterion and who also hold significant information which when gathered will enable the researcher to deepen knowledge related to the major issues being investigated. The purpose of this study is to explore the transnational identity

of the Kenyan migrants in the UK through provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya and to ascertain how this relates to their wellbeing. Information rich cases were participants who possessed information pertaining to intense provision of support. I made direct contact with the participants as a community leader and also utilized the help of other community leaders. I first equipped those who assisted by explaining to them what the study entails in order to ensure they were conversant with the details of what the study entailed. Being a leader and a member of this Kenyan community enhanced the process of recruiting participants. Additionally I and my family have been directly involved in providing support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya in addition to participating in organizing and contributing funds during '*harambees*' – fundraising events and '*ngwataniro*' popularly known as fellowship or prayer meeting to pray for those with ill relatives in Kenya and which frequently take place in this Kenyan community. I also participate in informally connecting Kenyans who are travelling home with those who want to send support of any form to their ill relatives, friends and other family members in Kenya.

The following were the main criteria which I used for selecting participants for this study:

- ◆ Participants who have chronically ill relatives in Kenya and who regularly provide support to them.
- ◆ The age of the participants had to be 18 years and above. This is the age at which one is considered to be an adult in both the UK and in Kenya. This age allows one to be employed, and in Kenya this is the age at which one is issued with a National Identity Card, permitted to marry and also to get into employment.
- ◆ Both male and female participants, married and unmarried were recruited for this study. Provision of support among migrants is practiced by both men and women regardless of their marital status.

It was therefore necessary that this study explored this phenomenon from both males and females.

- ◆ The study requires that only Kenyan migrants currently residing in the UK and having resided for more than 6 months are recruited. This period of time was considered enough to allow new migrants to be familiar with their new environment allowing them to: acquire a job where possible; learn how the system in the host country works; and make links with family and friends in Kenya.
- ◆ Participants also needed to be legally resident in the UK at the time of the study. This allows them to secure employment and participate fully in all the different sectors of the economy. Legal status also enables one to travel to and from the UK and this is an important factor in this study.

Those who participated in this study did so voluntarily and no form of incentive was used during the recruitment. Potential participants were approached during, community events, church services, on one to one meetings and for some through the phone. Details of the study were explained, and for those who met the criteria and willing to participate, I would proceed to arrange with them a convenient date, time and venue for the interview. While the participants tried to keep to the appointments as agreed, some were disrupted by the nature of their jobs. Being offered extra hours of work by the agencies they worked for was a major reason for cancelling and readjusting the appointments.

3.3.3 Sample

The total number of questionnaires distributed during the mapping exercise was 100 and a total number of 69 participants self-completed questionnaires were received back; I offered help in filling in the questionnaire to those who needed it. This means the response rate was 69%. The demographics of the participants were: out of a total number of 69, 19 of them were males and 48

were females, two of the questionnaires had missing value on gender. The ages of the participants were as follows; there were no participants in the age group 18-25, the age group 26-35 had 19 participants, 36-45 had 32 participants, 46-55 had 16 participants and 56-65 had 2 participants. The number of those who were married was 44, those separated were 2, single participants were 16, those living with partners were 2, one of the participants was divorced and 3 were widowed. On the level of educational attainment of the participants, 1 of them had no qualifications, 19 of them had O-level/GCSE level, 15 participants had either A-level qualifications or A-level qualifications and a diploma while 33 of the total number had a University degree and above. Regarding employment status, 37 had fulltime paid employment, 15 had part time paid employment, 6 of them were students, those in receipt of benefits were 3 and 3 indicated other forms.

One of the criteria for selecting participants for this study was by considering their age; the minimum age for the participants was 18 years. The reason for this is because this is the age at which one is regarded to be mature among Kenyans. At this age, one can acquire a National Identity Card, which is popularly referred to as ID in Kenya and be allowed to work and vote. During my fieldwork, I did not manage to recruit Kenyans in this age category who also met the other two important requirements of; having chronically ill relatives in Kenya and regularly providing support to them. If any would have come forward he/she would have been included. This explains why this age category is missing in my study. The reason for this could be linked to the earliest period when majority of the first generation migrants arrived in the UK. According to IOM (2006) Kenyans started arriving in large numbers to reside in the UK in the 1990s which was mainly caused by declines in economic circumstances and political unrest.

These demographics are further illustrated using the table below:

Table 3.1 Demographic characteristics of survey participants

	Gender		Age		Marital status		Education attainment		Employment status	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Male	19	27.5								
Female	48	69.6								
Missing value	2	2.9								
Total	69	100								
18-25			0	0						
26-35			19	27.5						
36-45			32	46.4						
46-55			16	23.2						
56-65			2	2.9						
Total			69	100						
Married					44	63.8				
Separated					2	2.9				
Single					16	23.2				
Cohabiting					2	2.9				
Divorced					1	1.4				
widowed					3	4.3				
Missing value					1	1.4				
Total					69	100				
No qualification							1	1.4		
O-level/GCSE							19	27.5		
A-Level/Diploma							15	21.7		
University degree							33	48.8		
Missing value							1	1.4		
Total							69	100		
Full time Employment									37	53.6
Part time employment									15	21.7
Student									6	8.7
Benefits									3	4.3
Self employed									5	7.2
Other forms									3	4.3
Total									69	100

F-Frequency; %-Percentage

For the in-depth interview, 20 participants were interviewed. These were part of the group of participants in the mapping exercise. Six of them were males and 14 were females, 15 of them were married, while 4 were single and one was divorced. Regarding their ages, 8 of the participants were in their 30s while those in their 40s had a similar figure of 8 participants. Those in their 50s were 4 in number. The participants who stated that they had a degree and above were 11 out of the total of 20 and none of the participants lacked basic education.

Table 3.2 Demographic characteristics of the participants in the semi-structured interviews

	Gender		Marital Status		Ages		Education	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Male	6	30						
Female	14	70						
Total	20	100						
Married			15	75				
Single			4	20				
Divorced			1	5				
Total			20	100				
30-39					8	40		
40-49					8	40		
50-59					4	20		
Total					20	100		
O-Level/GCSE							3	15
A-Level/equivalent							5	25
Degree and above							12	60
Total							20	100

F-frequency; %-percentage

A total number of 3 community events were observed; 1 prayer meeting and 2 fundraising events. The groups participating in the community events had a mixture of both males and females of different ages. Those married, single, divorced and separated participated equally. Children were also present but kept separately to play together as the events proceeded. However they would keep coming into the events' venue, check on their parents and then go back to play.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

This study utilized two stages of data collection. The first stage, which was the preliminary stage of this study, was through a mapping exercise which used a survey approach. Recruited participants were given questionnaires to fill in which incorporated questions about providing support. A sample of this questionnaire is included in appendix 4 towards the end of this thesis. The main reason for this initial stage was to collect preliminary mostly quantifiable

information relating to provision of support and wellbeing. This aimed at establishing the existence of aspects of transnational identity among the Kenyan migrants through provision of support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya. This basic data were analyzed and employed jointly with the information from the literature review to inform the development of the interview guide which was used during the second phase of data collection.

The second stage used semi-structured interviews and participant observation. A semi-structured interview guide was utilized to conduct in-depth interviews (a sample of the interview guide is included in appendix 4). Data were tape-recorded during the interviews and later transcribed. This stage also employed the use of participant observation to collect more data by observing three community events namely; '*Harambees*' which refer to fundraising events held to assist chronically ill relatives in Kenya and '*Ngwataniro*' a prayer meeting also called fellowship which was organized to pray for a chronically ill relative in Kenya. These data collection methods are explored in more detail below.

3.4.1 The mapping exercise/survey

I formulated the first draft of the survey questionnaire after which relevant adjustments were made through the assistance of my supervisors. The questionnaire included elements of support provision, participants' maintenance of links with Kenya, and wellbeing. Questions about gender, marital status, religion, types of support provision, types of illness of the relative and the motive of providing support among others were included in the survey questionnaire and it had twenty major questions. A brief explanation of the study objectives was given to participants before they were requested to fill in the questionnaire. There was a section meant to introduce the study which the participant was requested to read and which was meant to put more emphasis on what the study endeavours to achieve. The questionnaire was designed to take approximately less than 5 minutes to fill in and participants were not

required to fill in their names anywhere in the questionnaire. This was meant to make the information anonymous.

The survey was carried out between July 2007 and December 2008. Although I was greatly involved in recruiting participants, friends and relatives were also requested to help to identify eligible participants and distribute questionnaires to them. This was only allowed after I had explained the purpose of the study and the criteria to be used to identify the participants required for the study. The methods used to contact potential participants included: use of telephone; meeting them during community events, and meeting them on a one to one basis. Initially participants were to fill in the questionnaires and hand them back to me or my assistants. While this was possible with some of them, the complexity of the meeting venues for instance during weddings, made other participants to opt to carry the questionnaires with them, fill them up in their own time and then send them back to the researcher. It therefore became necessary to put the questionnaires in self addressed and stamped envelopes to ensure that completed questionnaires can easily be posted at no extra costs on the side of the participants. For this survey, 100 questionnaires were distributed and a total number of 69 completed questionnaires were received back, implying a 69% response rate. Data collected through the questionnaires included the age of the participants, gender, religion, marital status, number of dependants, educational level, employment status, type of illness, their relationship to the ill relatives, forms of support provided, the motivation behind providing support, problems encountered while providing support and perceptions of support provision which included issues to do with wellbeing. Collected data were later analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) and was instrumental in providing preliminary information about support provision by Kenyan migrants in the UK and consequently in the formulation of the interview guide which was used in the semi-structured interviews.

Pilot study report for the survey: Before the actual fieldwork was carried out, a pilot study was done in order to ensure that the questions included made sense to the participants and that they could identify with the issues raised in the questionnaire. I did a pilot study with 13 participants. These were participants whom I had recruited for this purpose. The response was good because I received 9 questionnaires back out of 13. After studying the returned questionnaires, I realized that there were a number of issues to consider in relation to the participants' responses and evaluation. I phoned some of the participants to discuss their evaluation of the questionnaire on phone and this gave me an opportunity to gather their views in a better way.

The following were the areas that emerged through the evaluations received and which with further consideration made me to edit the questionnaire.

- ◆ Question 10; one of the participants raised Asthma as one of the chronic illnesses. This was good because this is a major illness and I had left it out on the list. I therefore edited this question and added Asthma as one of the options.
- ◆ Question 11; a number of participants suggested that it would be good to have grandmother and grandfather as options in this question. I have therefore added these two in this question.
- ◆ Question 12 a); one participant suggested that for the option of '*phoning*', the Kenyan people would understand '*telephone calls*' in a better way than '*phoning*'. I have therefore changed this option to read, '*telephone calls*'.
- ◆ Question 12 b); on the option of medical equipments, some participants suggested it would be good to list a number of them as examples because participants may not take inhalers or blood pressure monitoring tools as medical equipments. I therefore listed a number of these in brackets for this question in order to make it clearer.

- ◆ Question 13; response from one of the participants in this question made me to consider framing this question differently. This is because some people phone weekly but they send money on monthly basis. This means if one chooses one of the options as was initially suggested in the question, some support sending would be missed out.
- ◆ Question 14; this question needed to be clarified because it was not clear whether the fundraising event in question referred to Kenya or to the UK. I adjusted this question to ask whether a fundraising has ever been organised either in Kenya or in the UK. This will allow me to have a general overview of the prevalence of the fundraising issue.
- ◆ Question 17; some additions to the options given for this question were suggested by the participants. The question required participants to choose from among given options what motivates them to provide support and they needed to choose a maximum of 2 options. The additions suggested were: societal expectation; makes me not to feel guilty; makes me pay for favours done to me by my relatives in Kenya. The suggestions were considered and the question adjusted accordingly.

Other concerns which arose during the pilot study: Besides the above views which related to the questions, the participants also suggested new issues related to the study which I had not included in the questionnaire. These areas were;

- ◆ A question on the problems that the migrants face in providing support was thought to be an important one and that it should be included in the questionnaire. I considered this and added this question to the questionnaire.
- ◆ One of the participants suggested that I should base my survey on all African countries so as to get the picture of support from different countries. For this contribution, I did not make

adjustment to the questionnaire to accommodate it because it was felt that this would be out of the scope of the objectives of the current study.

- ◆ Some of the participants said that sometimes when they provide support, it does not end up being used for what it was intended for by the people who receive the support on behalf of the chronically ill relatives. I considered this to be linked to problems experienced in providing support. To the question based on the problems participants face in providing support, this was added as one of the options.
- ◆ Another issue that was raised is where people share the burden of sending support with other members of their families either here in the UK or in other countries as migrants. One participant felt that the amount and frequency of support sending may be influenced by this factor. I considered this to be significant and added a question to cater for this.
- ◆ I also received a questionnaire with a participant who had chronically ill relatives at home, but was not providing support. This enabled me to adjust the questionnaire in order to enable only participants with chronically ill relatives and who also provide support to continue with the questionnaire, while those who did not meet these two requirements should terminate at that point and give back the questionnaire. During the survey every effort was made to ensure questionnaires were not distributed to participants who did not meet the required criteria.

The pilot study was very helpful because it enabled me to have feedback from the participants and after evaluating their suggestions, I was able to upgrade the survey questionnaire accordingly thus improving its quality.

3.4.2 *Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews were carried out during the second stage of this study to collect data that form the bulk of this study. An interview guide was formulated for this purpose and it included questions relating to: support provision by the Kenyan migrants; transnational identity and wellbeing; questions on their sense of belonging in the UK. The main purpose of these interviews was to collect in-depth information from the participants relating to provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya, which is a reflection of their level of transnational identity. Ultimately their perception of how this impacts on their wellbeing will be examined.

Semi-structured interview is one used by researchers to gather data which can enable them to grasp the meaning people give to given phenomenon in their lives. Additionally it helps to explore areas of research that warrant additional exploration. This style of interviewing is where participants are asked open-ended questions and are also probed to enable researchers to gather sufficient and helpful data (Berry, 1999).

Patton (2002) suggests that qualitative interviews can be carried out in 3 ways; 1) *the informal conversational interview* – which is associated with a dialogue, the researcher asks questions related to a given instantaneous situation. Such a style is significant in initial investigations of given topics of interest and are also usually used when one is carrying out participant observations. 2) *The interview guide* – For this type of interview the researcher has *a priori* list of topics or issues to be explored during the interview. This allows the same line of enquiry to be used with each informant. Through *a priori* list the researcher is able to explore, probe and ask questions with the intention of expounding and illuminating the particular subject at hand. 3) *Standardized open-ended interview* – For this style, the researcher is required to organize and put in words each question to be asked during the interview. Here variation and flexibility of questions asked are minimized. It has the advantage of ensuring

standardization throughout the interview session especially when interviews involve more than one researcher. However probing is still possible depending on the skills of the interviewers. Berry (1999) similarly acknowledges these approaches, but asserts that while they vary in the extent of wording and sequencing of questions there is no variation that exists in the requirement that the responses should be open ended and not pre-determined as in quantitative or survey questions in order to allow participants to expound on the various topics.

This study used the '*interview guide*' format of interviewing. This was *a priori* list of issues relating to the provision of support and with the aim of collecting data to answer the research questions. Additionally I was fully conversant with the contents of the interview guide before starting the interviews. This ensured that changes could be made to the sequence of the questions depending on the areas the participants wanted to speak about during the interview. This enabled me to be flexible in the way I conducted the interview. A major advantage of the interview guide as Patton (2002) argues is that it enables the researcher to carefully give thought to how to handle the time available for the interview. In this way, the researcher is able to come up with the most important areas to be handled as guided by the aims, objectives and the research questions. Some of the topics in this study which were paramount in the interview guide included: how Kenyan migrants understand the nature of the support they provide; the different forms of support which Kenyan migrants provide to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya; how Kenyans maintain links with their ill relatives; their understanding of wellbeing and their perceptions of how providing support relates to their wellbeing; and how they perceive their sense of belonging in the UK. These topics came from the data gathered from the survey, for instance the data show that Kenyans provide support and although a few of the forms of support were mentioned, this area needed to be probed further in order to exhaust the different forms of support. Another topic was on motivation of providing. Data from the survey reflected different reasons for providing, and

literature contacted on gift giving show that boundaries on motivations to give are not clear. This topic therefore needed to be probed further in order to establish the motives behind this act from the perceptions of the participants.

It was important that demographic information was collected during the interviews and therefore the first set of questions related to the background information of the participants. This demographic questionnaire sheet was produced and completed separately before the interview and included information about name, address, employment status, qualifications attained, marital status, age range and dependants in the UK. Consent forms were also filled in and signed before the commencement of the interview.

Some of the key characteristics of in-depth interviewing in qualitative research according to Guion (2001) include; the use of open-ended questions, which implies that questions are formulated in a way that enables participants to expand on the topics one is interested in; Secondly the interview should be of a semi-structured format which means that although the researcher should usually have a prior list of some questions to use in the field, questions should be asked like in a normal conversation in consideration of the information the participant is giving. It is the flow of the talk that will determine which questions to address next and even which ones need to be skipped altogether. Probing comes in to enable the researcher to seek to grasp the meaning and to interpret, elements that are important in qualitative interviews; the researcher tries to interpret the spoken word. These important characteristics were considered during the interviews, I sought clarity and deeper understanding throughout the interview. The interview guide was continuously kept in mind during the interview sessions to ensure that the meaning of each of the issues listed was captured from the participants' view point. Kvale (1996) holds that strategies of active listening, patience, flexibility and audio recording improve the quality of in-depth interviewing. During the interviews I was interested in obtaining information in terms of direct quotations about participants' personal

perspectives and experiences relating to support provision, transnational identity and wellbeing (Patton, 2002). Probing was therefore generally done to ensure that the participants exhausted all areas related to their provision behaviour.

I carried on with the interviews as long as the data revealed new themes and only stopped after data saturation. This is the level where additional interviews only repeat the themes and information already mentioned in past interviews. Streubert and Carpenter (1999) assert that it is important for interviewing to continue until one achieves a level of data saturation. The following section outlines some items related to the study and how I dealt with them.

Participant information sheet: All the participants in both semi-structured interviews and the participant observations were presented with an information sheet. This is a document with a brief explanation of the aims and objectives of the study and how the participant had been chosen to participate. This was also done before the commencement of the interviews and the observations in order to ensure that the participants are fully informed of the study being carried out.

The consent form: The participants who agreed to participate in the study were all presented with information sheets and requested to sign a consent form. This was done during the semi-structured interviews and also during the participant observations. There were no problems experienced in this and all the participants agreed to sign without raising any concerns, actually some participants when requested to sign acknowledged some fore knowledge about consent forms by having signed in during another study or having conducted a study where they also requested participants to sign consent forms. A copy of both the information sheet and a signed consent form were left with each participant.

Tape recording: Participants were notified that the interviews will be tape recorded and were requested to consent to this by signing a consent form to which they agreed. All the interviews were tape recorded. During the interviews, participants were keen to have only the correct information recorded. A few of them gestured to have the tape paused if they felt they needed to have more explanation to enable them understand the question better. I ensured I had spare batteries and spare audio cassettes; this enabled me to take advantage of interviewing participants who express willingness to be interviewed there and then while I was in the field.

Location and conduct of the interviews: The interviews were conducted in venues suitable to the participants. While some requested to be interviewed in their residences, others opted to be interviewed in the residence of the researcher while still others were interviewed in neutral venues for instance in a church building after a Sunday service. It was made clear to the participants that they were free not to answer a question if they chose to and to discontinue with the interview if they so desired. The average time for each of the interviews was 45 minutes.

3.4.3 Participant observation

According to Bernard (2002) a researcher collecting data through observation can choose from the following roles: 1) complete participant, 2) participant observer and 3) complete observer. Additionally Patton (2002) asserts that observation runs in a continuum which lies between covert and overt observation with variations in between. A researcher chooses the role to assume during observation. My role during the study was of a participant observer. This is because I am a fully functioning member of the Kenyan migrants' group but as opposed to complete participant where the researcher's status is not known by the members of a social setting, the members in the events I observed were aware of my status as a researcher during the events.

Consequently I was not a complete observer because I was not there just to observe since I also participated in the events chosen for study.

Three community events were observed. '*Ngwataniro*', which is a prayer meeting also known as a fellowship and 2 '*harambees*', which are fundraising events to support chronically ill relatives in Kenya. Before the commencement of the events, participants were made aware of my presence and requested to sign consent forms for me to observe the event. This was done by the event coordinator. During the events, all important information was noted down and any gaps were filled in immediately after the events. As much information as possible was collected through observation including; the general set up of the venues for the events, that is, how the sitting arrangement was done, areas designated for particular activities or particular people; observation was also made on how members arrived and what happened as they arrived for the function; how the event started off and the people who took part in different sessions of the events. Although as much information as possible was recorded down during the events, more detailed notes of the happenings were taken immediately after the event to ensure that all relevant information has been noted down and detailed explanation and clarification given in order to avoid having information that is incomprehensible. It was important to do this immediately after each event to avoid forgetting the happenings.

For participant observation, I used a field work notebook to record all the observations made and interviews with given participants during the events. This was important so that I would not forget the happenings. Additionally I collected relevant information in form of for instance, invitation letters to these events and relevant pictures. Some of the information which I observed and recorded during the participant observations include: the seating arrangements, arrival of participants, the languages used, the type of food served, the illustrations used by the various speakers, the reasons given for organizing the events/what the support will be used for, how the participants were dressed, elements linked to their sense of belonging in the UK and their behaviours in

terms of being happy and comfortable during the events (for instance during the events speakers shared jokes linked to both Kenya and the UK which often made the participants laugh). I always took some time immediately after each event to go through my notes in order to fill in any gaps left and to clear out any inconsistencies when the information is still clear in my mind.

3.4.4 *Field notes and memos*

Besides the tape recorded data, I gathered data during the field work which I wrote in a field note book. This data were in form of notes/memos, observation data, direct quotes, and comments. This data was very instrumental during this study and it was used to fill in missing information, as bridging blocks when writing both the findings and the discussions chapter and also to shed light on other types of data collected, thus improving my overall understanding and interpretation.

3.5 ETHICAL ISSUES

This study sought and received approval from the Health Studies Ethics Sub-Committee at Middlesex University, London. This was done after the Committee received and reviewed the study proposal (a copy of the approval letter is included in this thesis under the section appendix 3). After the approval, the proposal was registered with the postgraduate research office.

Seeking the consent of the participants is an essential part of research involving human beings. During the study participants were given full information about the study including why and how they have been selected to participate and that their participation is voluntary. They were given a chance to ask any questions before each of the interviews commenced. It was made clear that a choice not to participate or to withdraw in the course of the interview will not disadvantage them in any way. Participants were given a copy of '*participant information sheets (PIS)*' which outlined aims and objectives of the study, they

were requested to read and keep a copy of it before signing a consent form. Additionally participants were requested to sign consent forms as proof that consent has been granted. Consent forms were also signed by those organizing and attending the community events which were observed and a copy was left with each of them.

Confidentiality and anonymity were highly protected during the course of this study. Participants were clearly informed how data are made anonymous through coding and only used for research purpose. During reporting, information given by specific participants is not directly linked to them, this means names or any identifying criteria cannot be linked to the participant concerned. The research participants were assigned pseudonyms in order to protect their identity. The events observed were coded as; *observation1*, *observation2*, and *observation3*. The first two are '*harambees*' which are fundraising events and the third one is '*ngwataniro*' which is a prayer meeting. The use of pseudonyms and coding of events is very important because it assures the participants that the data collected cannot be used against them in any way including negatively affecting any kind of services that they are receiving during the time of this study and after. Data collected are currently stored securely in such a way that it is only accessed by the researcher.

During the fieldwork, some participants requested if they can read the report once the study is finished. It was made clear to them that a summary report of data collected is available to them upon request. They were made aware that any events organized to publicize reports from the data will be made public so that they can choose to attend or not. Report of the study is also made available to Middlesex University library in form of a thesis and participants were notified of this.

3.6 DATA MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to manage and analyze data from the Survey. Out of the total number of 100 questionnaires distributed, 75 questionnaires were returned, 6 of them had significant information missing, and therefore only 69 were fully completed to be used in this study. Data of the completed questionnaires (n=69) were fed into SPSS as part of the analysis.

Through the use of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) frequency tables were formulated to provide the needed information concerning the survey data. This was important as it gave the general picture of the participants' transnational identity and showed the existence of support provision among migrants in this Kenyan group. Tables reflecting the age groups, the gender of the participants, religious affiliation, educational level and employment status were formulated. Tables reflecting the forms of support provided, the problems encountered and reasons for providing support were also formulated and are useful in providing background information concerning support provision. Based on this background information more data were collected through the in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observation methods of data collection. Probing was done to clarify issues arising from the mapping exercise. The findings and discussions including the tables formulated from this survey data are detailed in the mapping exercise results chapter of this thesis.

3.7 DATA MANAGEMENT, ANALYSIS AND THEORIZING OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATION DATA

The quality of qualitative data is linked to the vigour used to carry out the management and analysis of the data. The process of analysis adds order to the data, gives the data structure and also meaning (Marshall and Rossman,

1989). Findings have shown that analysis in qualitative research, including ethnography does not occur as a separate phase in the process of research. For Hammersly and Atkinson (1983) analysis starts before fieldwork when a researcher is dealing with questions related to the study, it then continues during the designing of the study, the actual data collection, management of one's findings and into the interpretation stage while Marshall and Rossman (1989) argue that the different stages of collecting data and analysing it ought to be done together, an assertion echoed by Huberman and Miles (2002) who refer to qualitative analysis as a continuous interactive cyclical process. This section explores data management and analysis in depth. This is because data collected can only be better utilized if analysis, verification and reporting are done through processes that are rigorous and competent.

The semi-structured interview and observation data for this study was analyzed using Colaizzi (1978) phenomenological framework for data analysis. According to this frame work, the first stage is to gather the content of the tapes by listening over and over again before transcribing. Data were collected through the semi-structured interviews in form of tapes and field notes. I took time to listen to the interviews before transcribing each one of them in order to get a feeling for the content of the interviews. I personally did the transcription of each of the interviews and this enabled me to enhance my level of immersion into the substance of data. Hard copies of each of these transcribed interviews were printed out and again I took time to read each one of them, including the field notes for not less than two times each, further opening myself up to the issues of the participants from their point of view.

This level of engagement with data enabled me to start grouping data that relates to the major themes as in the research questions of this study and the literature reviewed. At this stage, I employed the use of a computer software - NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching Theorizing) in order to further analyze the data. I imported all the 20 transcripts into the

program including the transcripts from observed events. While Colaizzi (1978) and Sanders (2003) advise that working on the themes manually further enhances one's immersion into data, this approach of analysis is also time consuming. The use of a computer program was necessary for me in this study in order to assist in coding and analysing. Coding and analyzing through NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching Theorizing) allows one to move to and fro as many times as possible among the transcripts ensuring that all data related to each of the themes developed are coded accordingly.

The major themes and sub-themes for this study were outlined and coded. During this stage of analysis, I had regular discussions with my supervisors and colleagues in order to validate the themes and related data and this ensured that the process was rigorous. Major themes of gift exchange, transnational identity and wellbeing were agreed on and I coded all significant statements (Colaizzi, 1978) related to them under each of them including the sub-themes. I then developed formulated meanings (Colaizzi, 1978) for each of the significant statements for the different themes and sub-themes. This allowed me to develop a detailed description of each of the themes, the reports of which are outlined in the results and discussions chapters of this thesis.

Data management and analysis for this study required me to move to and fro as many times as it was possible to ensure that the perceptions of the participants were clearly reflected and outlined in form of a report. At this stage as Colaizzi (1978) asserts it was important that the findings were reported to the participants for verification, to see whether they can identify with the findings and whether this represented their perceptions. I achieved this by requesting a number of the participants to meet together, go through the report and make their own comments about the findings. Kvale (1996) implies that the involvement of participants at this stage is a very important factor of verifying the findings and interpretation of the data, which is respondents'

validation. This allowed for the necessary adjustments to be made to the report taking into consideration their feedback before preparing the final study report.

The data collected through the participant observation of selected community events (in terms of transcribed material, field notes and memos), were analyzed using the NUD*IST programme in order to establish the major themes and sub-themes. This data were grouped under the themes and sub-themes developed from the semi-structured interviews. I noted there were similarities of themes and sub-themes and this forms a base for validating the findings. For instance, there were similarities in the motivations for providing – obligation and reciprocity. The element of language also featured, participants were comfortable using both English and their ethnic languages especially after confirming that every participant in the event was comfortable with the language being used. Food items in the events reflected food from both the UK and Kenya – Kenyan chapatti, UK sandwiches, Kenyan drinks and UK drinks. Happiness was observed among the participants as they volunteered to do chores during the events and to contribute willingly and joyfully. Furthermore words of appreciation given to the participants in the events by individual speakers on behalf of the family concerned also made them happy.

3.8 DATA VERIFICATION PROCESS

Since this study employs the use of mixed methods: data collection through a mapping exercise which used a survey approach; semi-structured interviews and participant observation, triangulation method was used to verify the results. This was done by comparing the results from the different sources. In this study there were similarities in the findings from the 3 methods of data collection and results from one source therefore verify results from the other sources. Themes and sub-themes from both the semi-structured interviews and the participant observation data had a lot of similarities, an indicator of the validity of the findings. The rigorous level at which data were collected and analyzed also form a good basis of results validity. Additionally respondents'

validation was carried out, where a group of participants reviewed and validated the findings. Their reports show that the findings make sense to the participants, and they identified with the issues which came up in the findings. Validity is also enhanced when other researchers are requested to read draft chapters of the findings and when findings are compared to findings of other related studies in the same field. For this study, my research supervisors were involved through out the process of data management, analysis and reviewing the study report. We worked differently to identify themes and sub-themes emerging from the data and then came together to discuss and agree on them. Additionally, the supervisors frequently reviewed the findings and discussions report and their feedback was used to make necessary adjustments. This level of contribution means that researcher validation was carried out. Furthermore a few colleagues were given draft chapters of the findings to review. The feedback received from them was considered accordingly and these accounts for study validity. The results of this study were also compared to findings from related studies and this is reflected in the discussions chapter of the study, where similarities of results in this study and other studies reviewed were evident.

3.9 ISSUES OF REFLEXIVITY

Conducting research in qualitative research requires that the researcher is the research instrument. This means that the formulation of the study questions, collection of data, analysis and report writing is prone to influence by qualities related to the researcher (Patton, 2002).

In the process of conducting this research, I cannot claim objectivity. My position not only as a member but also as a leader in the Kenyan community must have influenced the study in terms of data collection, analysis and reporting. The research also influenced me and opened me up to issues that I had always taken for granted since they have always been part of not only me but also of my fellow Kenyan community members. In the course of the study,

it was necessary to at times stand back in order to remind myself of my role as a researcher and give room to the voice of the participants who are in this case the experts in support provision and in day to day construction of their transnational identity and wellbeing. I entered into the world of the Kenyan participants (Moustakas, 1994) and was involved as we explored and shared together.

While conducting research requires a lot of energy and time, it also requires expertise in research methods. In the initial stages of this study, I did rigorous training in research methodology to equip myself in order to adequately carry out the research. This training was useful in every stage of this study in enlightening me when it is required that my standpoint is taken to ensure that I made room for where data collected are leading to regardless of my past experiences in issues related to the study.

I have been involved in transnational identity as a migrant and the tendency to have preconceived ideas is great. Being aware of this I was determined to give room to whatever outcomes the data reveals. There were times of close link with the study participants but also moments to stand back and view the data with an outsider's eye.

The '*emic*' versus '*etic*' perspectives

Generally, '*emic*' refers to taking the viewpoint of the insider whereas '*etic*' means taking the outsider's viewpoint. The concepts of emic and etic were explored by Harris (1976) among others and after this period they began to be more widely used both inside and outside anthropology. While emic and etic are often thought to create a conflicting dichotomy, Berry (1999) asserts that rather than posing a '*dilemma*' the use of both approaches can deepen our understanding of important issues in cultural matters. It is therefore aimed that my being both '*emic*' and '*etic*' in this study will deepen the understanding of

the complex aspects of transnational identity and wellbeing of the Kenyan migrants in the UK.

As a researcher, I realized that I shared common characteristics with the participants in this study, for instance, similar ethnic background, similar socio-economic circumstances and history. I also happened to be of similar age with a number of the participants in this study. This implies that I typified almost everything that I was studying.

I had the advantage of being '*an insider*'. This means that '*who I am*' was an important instrument in producing the knowledge which I have presented in this study. Actually my interest in this study was greatly influenced by my experiences as a migrant in two different countries; South Africa and the UK. My being an insider was very helpful in allowing me access to the participants from who data for this study were collected and also to access the events that were observed. This was important for me because in general ethnic minority groups are usually viewed by researchers as a hard to reach group, a possible reason why during my study I discovered that little has been done in terms of research among the Kenyan migrants.

This study would have been more difficult to carry out than it was if I was not a Kenyan and if I was not in a position like I did to make use of the community networks which I had already established. Every stage of this study handed me the opportunity to trade on my ethnic features, for instance speaking to the participants in familiar languages, carrying a few food items when meeting participants in the home (a value that is highly regarded among Kenyans). Being a Christian like most of the participants also meant there was more that we relate on besides the research. An understanding of the culture of the participants was therefore an advantage to me in this study, this is because while I did not have to labour for this, it would have been different for an

outsider who would have first struggled to have an understanding of some cultural values in order to better facilitate the study.

In terms of keeping links with friends and family in Kenya I stand a good ground in terms of recalling how this has been made all the more possible through advanced technology in terms of communication and travel. Both my immediate parents died when I was a migrant in South Africa as a result of chronic illnesses (my parents-in-law are however alive and we continue to support them as they too have chronic illnesses). A major difference which I observe between then (early 2000s) and now is the ease with which one is able to keep links in terms of communication including travel and the use of internet services. During then, constantly gathering information of how they were fairing on a day to day basis was very demanding financially and this meant I missed out greatly on important issues about moments of illnesses which mattered to me but which had to escape me or to get to me when it was too late because I simply could not afford the high cost. Today, this is different, competition among service providers means that it costs less to get in touch with family and friends including through telephone, emails and travel. This has therefore enhanced transnational identity among many migrants.

While what I have already mentioned are some of the ways in which I influenced this study, there were ways that the study also transformed some of the ways I had always viewed things. In terms of cultural identity, I had always taken myself as a Kenyan and this was an issue that needed no debate until I migrated to South Africa. This is with the understanding that although we have so many ethnic groups (over 40) in Kenya, these differences never feature in our day to day lives because the groups often intermingle and there is a high level of acceptance (I must mention here however that ethnic differences are usually negatively utilized by politicians especially during political campaigns in Kenya, in order to win votes and can sometimes result in disaster as witnessed in the post-election violence in 2007). One day I was walking with a South

African colleague when I received a phone call from a Kenyan and we conversed in our language, when I had finished my friend asked me where I come from and I replied that I was a Kenyan. She then told me that they (South Africans) usually refer to outsiders (people from other countries) as '*Makwerekwere*'. This is a nickname used to refer to foreigners. Although this did not immediately become an issue, further allegations of foreigners being thrown out of trains by South Africans while commuting to work stirred up my understanding of cultural differences.

When I migrated to the UK more things unveiled that relate to cultural differences. I now witnessed a convergence of more different cultural perspectives in comparison to what was present in South Africa. Language for me was initially a big issue. While I have used English language in all my schooling it is the accent as similarly perceived by the participants in this study that is usually an issue when one arrives in the UK. It is bothersome when individuals cannot understand what I am trying to convey or when I cannot comprehend what they are saying as a result of differences in accent. This however changes with time. I have been in the UK for nearly a decade now and my identity perspectives have been transformed. I have lived here, worked, studied and have brought up my children. All this has impacted on my Kenyan identity. While I first and foremost regard myself as a Kenyan because of my upbringing and the presence of family and friends still residing there and with whom I am constantly in contact, there is a lot in me that have changed in terms of identity and my sense of belonging in the UK is also strong. My position now is that I cannot deny my loyalty to any of these nations, which implies I hold a transnational identity.

Through this study, I have become aware that things that I have always taken for granted as I and my family do them on a day to day basis, for instance in terms of maintaining links with family and friends and providing the much needed support to ill relatives have turned out to impact on my identity and to

enhance my wellbeing and integration in the UK. This has also meant that my identity cannot be thoroughly accommodated by a single nation, whether my home or my host country, it is a combination of both that would explain my present cultural identity.

3.10 SUMMARY

This chapter has largely dealt with the methods used to conduct this study. The study uses mixed methods, but it is predominantly qualitative. The research aims and questions are laid out to remind the reader why the study is being carried out. Details of methodological design are examined. There is a section of the process of data collection for the study which evaluates: the population, sampling and sample. It is important that data collection instruments of survey, interviews and participant observation are given good consideration in order to make it clear how the data were collected. Issues closely related to data collection and which are important to lay out how they were dealt with during the study are given consideration under: consent form; tape recording; location and conduct of the interviews; field notes and memos. Ethical issues related to this study are also mentioned and examined. The management and analysis of data also form a significant part of the chapter. The chapter ends with issues of reflexivity, which examines not only the way I influenced this study but also the way the study influenced me. The next chapter outlines the analysis and interpretations of the survey findings.

CHAPTER 4: THE MAPPING EXERCISE

Analysis and interpretation of findings

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the analysis of the survey, which was conducted in order to explore pertinent issues and establish a baseline for the study. Through the survey, data was collected on Kenyan migrants in the UK, on whether they provided support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya, how they did this and for what reasons. This approach was taken as the study aimed to examine the relationship between transnational identity and wellbeing through the act of providing support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya. The survey was carried out between July 2007 and December 2008. Sixty nine (n=69) completed questionnaires were received.

Data was imported into SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences), a computer software which is commonly used to analyse statistical data in Social Sciences. The findings were formulated in table formats using SPSS. This chapter reports and discusses the results of this mapping exercise.

The following criteria were used for selecting the study participants:

- Participants who have chronically ill relatives in Kenya
- Participants who regularly provide support to their ill relatives in Kenya
- Must be Kenyan migrants
- Both males and females 18 years old and above regardless of their marital status
- Participants who have lived in the UK for at least 6 months
- Participants who have legal status to reside in the UK

Since transnational identity and wellbeing of migrants is explored through provision of support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya, it was important that participants were those who have chronically ill relatives in Kenya and also those who regularly provided support. Participants were also chosen on the basis of the period of time they have been living in the UK taking into account their legal status. A minimum of 6 months was required because it is assumed that migrants require a bit of time to settle down in a new country and to understand the new system. Additionally, those who have legal status are able secure jobs and to travel from one country to another which is an important factor in this study because provision of support may at times involve the relative travelling back to their home country to visit the ill relative.

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Participants' gender

Table 1 which tabulates the gender of the participants clearly shows that there were more females among the participants than males. Seventy percent (70%) of the participants were females while 27% were males. This gives an indication that out of the total number of participants, more females than males are involved in providing support to their ill relatives in Kenya. The issues of caring in the Kenyan culture is mostly associated with females and could therefore explain why we have more females than males in provision of support which is closely linked to caring. Although this is seen to be changing in the contemporary society due to globalisation, it is evident from this data that this traditional norm is still evident in this Kenyan group. Another probable reason for this gender difference is that I being a female, the propensity to approach women participants was higher than that of approaching male participants.

Table 1: Gender of the participants

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	female	48	69.6
	male	19	27.5
	Total	67	97.1
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
Total		69	100

Participants' age

Table 2 shows the age pattern of the participants involved in the survey. The highest proportion (46%) of the participants was those aged 36-45, followed by those aged 26-35 with a proportion of 27%. Participants aged 56 and above were very few and had a proportion of 3%. This suggests that provision of support runs across all the ages but it is highest for those aged between 36 and 45. This can be explained by the implication that those aged 36-45 are more able to secure jobs enabling them to provide support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya.

As noted earlier on page 86 of this thesis, the age group 18-25 did not have any participants and has therefore been left out when SPSS formulated the table below. This group of participants could be termed as second generation migrants who may be having most of their close relatives residing with them in the UK thus not providing support to relatives in Kenya. Additionally, they may still be pursuing their academic careers, searching for jobs and/ not settled in stable jobs to enable them to provide support. Lack of income however does not mean that this age group is not able to provide other forms of support but the suggestion that many of their close relatives may be residing with them in the UK may contribute to non-existence of these other forms of support.

The transnational identity characteristics of migrants aged 18-25 may not entirely be similar to those of their parents. This could partly be as a result of having lived longer in the host than in the home country. Following this argument, I have recommended the importance of conducting research linked

to second generation migrants in order to study their construction of transnational identity.

Table 2: Age of the participants

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	36-45	32	46.4
	26-35	19	27.5
	46-55	16	23.2
	56-65	2	2.9
	Total	69	100

Participants' marital status

Figures about the marital status of the participants are given in table 3 below. The highest proportion of 64% is for those who were married, followed by the single with a proportion of 23%. Those separated and living with a partner have an equal proportion of 3% each while the lowest value (1%) is for those divorced. Marriage is greatly valued among Kenyans and the stages followed in both traditional and contemporary wedding practices advocates for permanency in marriage (Sobania 2003). According to the customs of many Kenyan ethnic groups, for instance Kikuyu, single hood is not highly valued. Furthermore provision of support appears to be upheld by all regardless of their marital status. This is supported by interview data, which again reflects provision of support spread across the marital status spectrum. For those married, they acknowledged joint support provision during the semi-structured interviews and this was also revealed as a similar finding during the participant observation.

Table 3: Marital status of the participants

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	married	44	63.8
	single	16	23.2
	widowed	3	4.3
	living with partner	2	2.9
	separated	2	2.9
	divorced	1	1.4
	total	68	98.6
Missing	missing value	1	1.4
Total		69	100

Participants' religious affiliations

Table 4 below shows that most of the participants are Protestants with a proportion of 65%, followed by Anglicans (17%). The Catholics are next with 9%, while the Christian Orthodox group had the lowest proportion (6%). Overall, 97% of the participants were Christians. Christianity is one of the main religions practiced in Kenya and (Copeland-Carlson 2007) asserts that it has a great impact in the notion of gift exchange among Kenyans. One of the major teachings of Christianity is on giving. This is based on John 3:16 (Holy Bible, New International Version, 1973, p897): *"For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life"* This implies that if God gave then Christians have an obligation to follow this example. Giving is reflected in tithing, where the faithful give a ten percent of their income which is used to accomplish Christian missions. Offerings are also upheld, these are resources given by the faithful regularly according to their ability. Although Islam and other religions are also present in Kenya and their proportions increasing with time, none of the participants indicated they practice other religion. The high figure of Christians in this study can also be explained by the reason that I am a Christian and this implies that I may have approached Christians more when recruiting participants for this study.

Table 4: Participants' religious affiliations

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	protestant	45	65.2
	Anglican	12	17.4
	Catholic	6	8.7
	Christian orthodox	4	5.8
	other	2	2.9
	Total	69	100

Participants' level of education

Table 5 below shows the education levels attained by the participants. A proportion of 48% have a minimum level of a university degree, with some

among them having postgraduate qualifications, followed by participants with O-levels or GCSEs (27%). Pursuit of education among Kenyans is a valued feature; an International Organization of Migration (IOM)'s (2006) mapping exercise of Kenyans in the UK found that the majority of Kenyan migrants are in the students' category. Furthermore (Ghai 2005) asserts that before the economic deterioration of the 1990s Kenyan migrants regularly travelled abroad to further their studies but they would always return to build their nation. The trend to travel abroad to further their studies appears to have continued but Kenyans in the contemporary times opt to remain and settle in the UK in search of better pastures economically. This was also confirmed during the semi-structured interviews where a number of the participants were students.

Table 5: Highest level of education attained by participants

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	university degree and postgraduate	33	47.8
	o-levels/GCSEs/CSEs	19	27.5
	A-level and diploma	15	21.7
	no education qualification	1	1.4
	Total	68	98.6
Missing	missing value	1	1.4
Total		69	100

Participants' employment status

Employment status of the participants is shown in table 6. Fifty four percent (54%) of the participants reported to be in full time paid employment. A further 22% reported to be in part-time paid employment. Those who are self employed and the students have proportions of 7% and 9% respectively. Although educational qualification is a great determinant in job prospects, research has shown that many migrants suffer what Datta et al. (2007) calls '*deskilling*', this is where they find themselves taking up jobs which do not fit with their qualifications because the system of the host country does not recognize their qualifications.

Table 6: Employment status of participants

	Frequency	Percent
Valid		
full-time paid employment	37	53.6
part-time paid employment	15	21.7
student	6	8.7
self-employed	5	7.2
in receipt of benefits	3	4.3
any other	3	4.3
Total	69	100

4.2 RELATIVES' ILLNESSES AS MENTIONED BY THE PARTICIPANTS

This section considers the relatives' illnesses as given by the participants in the survey. According to the figures in table 7 below, the highest proportion of 23% is for the relatives who have diabetes, followed by 21% and 12% for those with high blood pressure and arthritis respectively. We have low proportions of 3% and 1% for relatives who are suffering from dementia and mental illness respectively. These figures suggest that illnesses associated with dietary or nutritional issues which are affecting the Western population are also affecting Kenyans, for instance diabetes. This shows that the effect of globalisation is affecting the Kenyan community. The fast food outlets only at one time found in the West have mushroomed in the African continent also and this has meant a great deal of change in the eating habits of many especially the working urban population who often rely on them for their meals and snacks during their working hours.

While HIV/Aids is one of the leading illnesses in most of the African countries, this report shows that only 7% of the participants are providing support to relatives who have this illness. One of the explanations that would link to this is the high level of stigma associated with HIV in the African countries. This implies that people refuse to mention the disease but can mention opportunistic illnesses like Tuberculosis.

Table 7: Frequencies of relatives' Illness

		Frequency	Percent
relatives illness	Diabetes	28	23
	High blood pressure	26	21.3
	Arthritis	14	11.5
	kidney failure	8	6.6
	Heart related	7	5.7
	HIV/Aids	7	5.7
	Stroke	6	4.9
	Asthma	6	4.9
	Cancer	6	4.9
	other	6	4.9
	Tuberculosis	4	3.3
	Dementia	3	2.5
	Mental illness	1	0.8
	Total	122	100

4.3 PARTICIPANTS' RELATIONSHIP TO THE ILL RELATIVE

Frequencies of the relationship of the participant to the ill relative are tabulated in table 8 below. The participants with mothers and fathers as the sick relatives have the highest proportions of 25% and 17% respectively. Mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother and uncle are next with proportions of 8%, 6%, 6% and 6% respectively. The figures suggest that many of the participants are mostly providing for the very close family members. The low figures of those who are providing support to husband, wife, sons or daughters seem to suggest that few people have left their spouses and children in Kenya. A close look at the figures in table 8 implies that Kenyans provide support to different relatives, implying that the culture of extended family relations is upheld. Furthermore elsewhere in this chapter and during the semi-structured interviews participants indicated that it is a societal expectation for children to care for their elderly

parents, hence this may explain why the figures of those supporting mother, father or mother-in-law and father-in-law are the highest.

Table 8: Frequencies of relationship to the sick relative/s

		Frequency	Percent
relationship to relative	Mother	27	25.0
	Father	18	16.7
	Mother-in-law	9	8.3
	Father-in-law	7	6.5
	Brother	7	6.5
	Uncle	7	6.5
	Sister	6	5.6
	Sister-in-law	5	4.6
	Aunt	5	4.6
	Brother-in-law	4	3.7
	other	4	3.7
	Son	3	2.8
	Daughter	2	1.9
	Husband	1	0.9
	Wife	1	0.9
	Grandfather	1	0.9
	Grand mother	1	0.9
	Total	108	100

4.4 FORMS OF SUPPORT PROVIDED BY THE PARTICIPANTS

Participants who provide support in form of money form the highest proportion of 28%. A proportion of 23% participants reported that they provide emotional psychological support through telephone calls. This proportion is higher than for those who send letters and use emails which are 3% and 1% respectively. Literature (Kenyatta 1938) has shown that Kenya is traditionally an oral society.

Cultural values have been passed on from generation to generation through stories, riddles, social gatherings and songs and/ dances. Use of telephones is highly associated with the oral element in the contemporary period because it involves people speaking on a one to one basis. During the semi-structured interviews it was evident that the use of mobile phones has increased for both rural and urban populations in Kenya, with participants reporting they can now keep links with as many people as possible including their grandparents, many of who now own mobile phones. Additionally the importance of mobile phones has increased with the introduction of mobile phones' money transfer system in Kenya which makes it easy for many people especially because many people in Kenya do not have bank accounts. This system has also recently been introduced in the UK, implying that Kenyan migrants in the UK can directly transfer money to a mobile phone account in Kenya.

Participants also organize prayers in the UK to pray for their chronically ill relatives, (11%) and an equal number (11%) travel to Kenya to visit their chronically ill relatives. Kenyans believe that prayers can be offered in the UK on behalf of an ill relative and make a change in their health status while in Kenya. Additionally visiting family and friends is a cultural value among many Kenyans (Sobania 2003). Only a proportion of 5% send material for information to their chronically ill relatives. One would have expected this proportion to be higher given that the participants can access data in a variety of places for example the internet, libraries, and magazines, among others on the identified illnesses. However since most of the support is going to the parents, literacy problems may be the reason for this finding. The face to face interviews revealed that many Kenyan migrants use the internet to search information some of which they print and send off or pass it on during their telephone conversations with their relatives. The use of letters has a low proportion, this was explored during the semi-structured interviews and participants reported that since in Kenya letters are delivered to post-office boxes (usually charged monthly) in urban areas from where people can then go and collect, it is usually

a very unfriendly way of communicating. It is especially difficult for those residing in rural areas, participants reported that people in Kenya usually receive mails only once in a month. Asking friends who are travelling to pass on greetings or a parcel containing gifts to ill relatives is also very common among Kenyans. The use of varied forms of support by participants shows that remittances are not just given in form of money, implying that studying remittances only as money loses information on other forms of remittances.

Table 9: Frequencies of the forms of support provided

		Frequency	Percent
form of support	money	66	28.0
	telephone calls	55	23.3
	organizing prayers in UK	26	11.0
	visiting your relative	26	11.0
	asking friends going home to visit your relative	15	6.4
	medical equipment	14	5.9
	Sending information material	13	5.5
	organizing prayers in Kenya	11	4.7
	letters	6	2.5
	email	3	1.3
	any other	1	0.4
	Total	236	100

4.5 MOTIVATION FOR PROVIDING SUPPORT

Participants' motivation for providing support is shown in table 10 below. Thirty four percent of the participants reported that personal fulfillment motivates their act of provision, 25% feel better by providing support while 24% said that it is their societal expectation. Reciprocating for favors done and keeping links with home country have low proportions of 5% and 6% respectively. Personal fulfillment and feeling better are elements related to wellbeing (McGregor 2004)

and this implies that providing support enhances their wellbeing. Providing support was also reported to be a cultural norm and therefore participants are expected to provide this to their ill relatives.

Table 10: Frequencies of motivation for providing support

		Frequency	Percent
motivation for providing	personal fulfillment	42	34.1
	societal expectation	30	24.4
	makes me feel better	31	25.2
	to keep links with home country	7	5.7
	other	7	5.7
	to reciprocate for favours done	6	4.9
	Total	123	100

4.6 NEEDS MET WITH THE SUPPORT PROVIDED

Table 11 below shows the needs which are met by the ill relatives using the support provided by the participants. Most of the needs met are mainly to do with medical services. Buying medicine forms the bulk of this with a proportion of 19%, followed by payment of hospital bills (18%). Transport to hospital was reported by 12% of the participants and enabling the ill relatives to afford a balanced diet was reported by 11% of them. Health services in Kenya are highly privatized and services offered in government hospitals are considered by many people to be very poor and also come at a cost (Mbatia and Bradshaw 2003). It is therefore easy to understand why most of the support provided especially in terms of money goes to cater for the hospital bills and medication. During the semi-structured interviews many participants expressed that they do not understand how ordinary Kenyans (especially those who do not have relatives abroad) afford to pay for their medical bills. This was echoed during the semi-structured interviews and the participant observation. The *'harambees'*, that is, fundraising events observed were carried out to enable the relatives to meet the hospital bills of their ill relatives. Furthermore government

emergency services in Kenya are very poor and it is not unlikely for paramedics to respond to an emergency case and request the relatives to fuel the car. This acted as a barrier with many people in Kenya getting used to make their own arrangements to transport a critically ill relative to the hospital. This explains the 12% proportion of support used for this purpose. With many participants reporting that their relatives have been diagnosed with diabetes, using support provided to meet their dietary needs is important which explains the proportion (11%) of needs met.

Although support through making telephone calls is common in this Kenyan group as reported above, support provided is not heavily used to pay telephone bills. This is because in most of the cases the participants are the ones who initiate the telephone calls and therefore are usually responsible for paying the phone bill from their end. However, currently in the UK, there is a system which was introduced by mobile phone providers in Kenya, with the aim of allowing Kenyan migrants in the UK to send mobile phone credit directly to their friends' and relatives' mobile phones in Kenya. This implies that ill relatives and/ their carers in Kenya can then easily contact the participants to update them of their medical related progress or in case of emergency needs without worrying that they do not have credit on their mobile phones.

Table 11: Frequencies of needs met with support provided

		Frequency	Percent
achievement with support	to buy medicine	51	18.8
	to pay hospital bills	48	17.6
	to afford transport to hospital	32	11.8
	to afford balanced diet	29	10.7
	to enable them to do daily chores	21	7.7
	to afford daily care services	21	7.7
	to make them happy	18	6.6
	to reduce uncertainties	15	5.5
	to better manage illness to reduce emergencies	13	4.8
	to help them have increased mobility	7	2.6
	to pay phone bills	6	2.2
	to reduce the rate of similar occurrence in the family	5	1.8
	to buy mobile phones	5	1.8
	any other	1	0.4
	Total	272	100

4.7 PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN PROVIDING SUPPORT

The highest proportion (43%) of participants indicated that unstable exchange rate contributed to support problems. This would have been expected since most of the participants indicated sending money as a form of support. This proportion is followed by 24% being the participants who reported that sending less than the required amount of provision was a problem. This seems to imply that there are more needs than what the migrants can meet through what they provide. This could be a combination of the nature of jobs that migrants secure in the UK (Datta et. al 2007) which are usually low paying as well as the high inflation rates in Kenya. During the semi-structured interviews, many of the

migrants indicated that they take up more than one job and also add over time hours in order to meet their own expenses as well as send support. It is no wonder that a considerable proportion (18%) reported that they face a problem of the support not being used as intended. When this was probed further during the semi-structured interviews participants asserted that their ill relatives would at times neglect their nutritional needs in order to meet other needs, this was viewed as detrimental by the participants especially those who viewed the illnesses of their relatives in this case diabetes as being very much dependent on the nutritional value of their diets. More issues linked to this are discussed in the findings chapter of semi-structured interviews and observations. High costs of sending support (13%) and the process involved in sending some form of support (8%) were also cited as problems by some participants.

Table 12: Frequencies of Problems experienced while providing support

		Frequency	Percent
problems with providing support	unstable exchange rate	43	33.9
	sending less than required due to lack	31	24.4
	support not used as intended	23	18.1
	high costs of sending	16	12.6
	process of sending some forms of support is difficult	10	7.9
	any other	4	3.1
	Total	127	100

4.8 PERCEPTIONS OF PARTICIPANTS ON SUPPORT PROVISION

This question included a number of statements which participants were given the option of indicating whether they agreed, did not agree or were undecided. The different perception frequencies are shown in tables 13a – 13x below.

4.8.1 *Providing support gives me personal satisfaction*

Eighty three percent (83%) of the participants agreed with this statement and only 6% of them disagreed while 9% of them could neither agree nor disagree. Evidence from literature (Marks et al. 2004) has shown that personal satisfaction is one of the elements of subjective wellbeing. This therefore appears to be a good indicator of subjective wellbeing among the participants achieved by providing support. This perception echoes the figures of table 10, where personal fulfilment was one of the main motivating factors among the participants for providing support. Further more the semi-structured interviews also supported this finding.

Table 13 a): gives me personal satisfaction

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	57	82.6
	neither agree nor disagree	6	8.7
	disagree	4	5.8
	Total	67	97.1
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
Total		69	100

4.8.2 *Providing support keeps me connected to my relatives in Kenya*

Seventy five percent (75%) of the participants agreed with this statement, 6% disagreed and 16% were undecided. This connection is reflected through the different forms of support which include; sending money, telephone calls, sending medical equipments, greetings and gifts with people travelling to Kenya, organising prayer meetings to pray for the ill relatives and participants themselves travelling to Kenya. Keeping links with relatives and friends in Kenya while in the UK implies transnational identity. This suggests that through provision of support, migrants construct and nurture transnational identity.

Table 13 b): keeps me connected to my relatives in Kenya

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	52	75.4
	neither agree nor disagree	11	15.9
	disagree	4	5.8
	Total	67	97.1
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
Total		69	100

4.8.3 *Providing support makes me poor*

A majority of 85% of the participants disagreed with this statement, 7% agreed and 6% were undecided. During the semi-structured interviews, participants explained how they were brought up to value giving and sharing with other members of the society. One of the proverbs common among Kenyans is: '*Ina kaigu, ina komu wa nyina*'. This means that if one in the family or community has something (good or bad) the others have it too. For instance the person who has resources is required to share with the one who does not have. Sharing with some one is not termed to result to poverty but as shown elsewhere in this chapter, it results to happiness, which is an element of subjective wellbeing. However through the semi-structured interviews, it was evident that provision of support was achieved through a level of sacrifice by the participants, an element that may explain the proportion of those who agreed and the number of the undecided.

Table 13c): makes me poor

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	disagree	59	85.5
	agree	5	7.2
	neither agree nor disagree	4	5.8
	Total	68	98.6
Missing	missing value	1	1.4
Total		69	100

4.8.4 *Providing support is an unnecessary burden*

Many participants (80%) disagreed that providing support is an unnecessary burden. Only 4% agreed while 10% of them were undecided. It is something they are happy to do and this is confirmed by data elsewhere in this chapter where participants reported that providing support makes them happy.

Table 13d): is an unnecessary burden

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	disagree	55	79.7
	neither agree nor disagree	7	10.1
	agree	3	4.3
	Total	65	94.2
Missing	missing value	4	5.8
Total		69	100

4.8.5 *Providing support helps to save life*

Eighty seven percent (87%) of the participants agreed that providing support helps to save life, very few (4%) disagreed and 8% were undecided. It is evident that participants perceive providing support as being very important in the lives of their ill relatives. An important point to note here is that migrants in this Kenyan group were forced to move out of their country due to economic deterioration of the 90s. This implies they are an important source of income for their families and relatives back in Kenya. Furthermore a poor economy means poor health services and it is therefore important that migrants' provision come in to fill the gap where the government has failed. This is frequently echoed in the semi-structured interviews where participants feel that they would not be going to the lengths of providing for medical related needs if the government provided sufficient health services to all Kenyans. The interviews also revealed that support to their ill relatives is a matter of life or death due to the economic situation in Kenya; every act of giving went a long way to make a difference in the lives of the ill relatives.

Table 13e): helps to save life

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	60	87.0
	neither agree nor disagree	4	5.8
	disagree	3	4.3
	Total	67	97.1
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
Total		69	100

4.8.6 *Providing support saves me from taking time off work to travel home*

According to the figures in table 13f, 33% of the people neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, 32% of the participants agreed to the statement, while 30% disagreed. These figures are very close to each other with many of the participants being undecided about this statement. In table 9 participants reported that travelling to visit the ill relative is one of the forms of the support they provide. Furthermore the semi-structured interviews and the participant observations revealed that participants often travel to Kenya to visit their ill relatives with the assumption that seeing for themselves how their ill relatives are fairing on has great impact and enhances their wellbeing when they get back to the UK. Participants usually organize to travel during the major holiday seasons like Christmas period which is an important time among many Kenyans to have family gatherings. Many may therefore not view this as a disruption to their work schedule, and this may explain the findings.

Table 13f): saves me from taking time off work to travel home

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	neither agree nor disagree	23	33.3
	agree	22	31.9
	disagree	21	30.4
	Total	66	95.7
Missing	missing value	3	4.3
Total		69	100

4.8.7 *Provision of support help to promote my social life*

Table 13g below shows that 42% of the participants agreed that provision of support helps to promote their social life while 33% disagreed and 20% neither agreed nor disagreed. During the semi-structured interviews, probing was done in this area to establish the experiences of the participants. The perceptions of the participants show that the process of acquiring resources needed for providing support is a challenging one for them. Participants pointed out that the kind of jobs they do and the long hours they are forced to put to work often meant that there was a detriment to their social life in the UK. However the words of gratitude received from the receivers of their support often tend to balance this challenge. This suggests why the figures of those who agree and those who disagree are closely linked.

Table 13g): helps to promote my social life

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	29	42.0
	disagree	23	33.3
	Neither agree nor disagree	14	20.3
	Total	66	95.7
Missing	missing value	3	4.3
Total		69	100

4.8.8 *Providing support helps me to keep links with other Kenyans in the UK*

Participants who disagreed that provision of support helps them to keep links with other Kenyans in UK have the highest proportion of 51% while those who agreed to this have a proportion of 13% according to table 13h below and for those undecided it stands at 30%. Data from semi-structured interviews and participant observation assert that Kenyans in the UK link up with one another frequently, for instance in church gatherings, in community events like weddings, '*harambees*' (fundraising events) and birthday parties, with many terming it as '*very powerful*'. Since the meetings are usually organized with

specific objectives other than just to link up with other Kenyans, for instance during '*harambees*', church gatherings, weddings, '*ngwataniro*' among others, this may be the reason participants disagreed with the statement and a number were undecided. This statement was meant to give an indication of transnational identity through the keeping of links.

Table 13h): helps me keep links with other Kenyans in the UK

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	disagree	35	50.7
	neither agree nor disagree	21	30.4
	agree	9	13.0
	Total	65	94.2
Missing	missing value	4	5.8
Total		69	100

4.8.9 *Provision of support makes me happy*

A majority (74%) of the participants agreed to this statement while 13% disagreed and 10% neither agreed nor disagreed. Happiness is one of the concepts that denote subjective wellbeing. Transnational identity through provision of support by the participants appears to have a positive relationship with their wellbeing. Through the semi-structured interviews many of the participants asserted that happiness is derived through the words of gratitude that the receivers express after receiving support, which is usually communicated mostly when they are contacted by the givers through telephone. Many participants feel happy when they are in a position to fill a gap be it financially or otherwise when others in terms of family members, friends or community members are not in a position to do so.

Table 13i): makes me happy

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	51	73.9
	disagree	9	13.0
	neither agree nor disagree	7	10.1
	Total	67	97.1
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
Total		69	100

4.8.10 Provision of support makes me angry

Seventy eight percent (78%) of the participants disagreed with this statement, 10% percent agreed while 9% neither agreed nor disagreed. These figures appear to support earlier figures where the participants indicated that provision of support makes them happy and gives them personal satisfaction.

Table 13j): makes me angry

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	disagree	54	78.3
	agree	7	10.1
	neither agree nor disagree	6	8.7
	Total	67	97.1
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
Total		69	100

4.8.11 Provision of support makes me proud

A good proportion of the participants (46%), agreed that provision of support makes them proud as shown in table 13k below. Those who neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement and those who disagreed have a similar proportion of 25% each. It is important to note that many of the ill relatives are economically challenged and only have the migrants to rely on. This may therefore imply that participants' pride is associated with their position of being

able to intervene through provision thus making what many referred to as *'positive changes'* during the semi-structured interviews. Additionally the absence of participants from their family and friends in Kenya appears to be a void that is usually filled by the support they provide and this could enhance their level of pride.

Table 13k): makes me proud

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	32	46.4
	neither agree nor disagree	17	24.6
	disagree	17	24.6
	Total	66	95.7
Missing	missing value	3	4.3
Total		69	100

4.8.12 Providing support relieves my stress

Majority of the participants (49%) of them agreed as shown in table 13l, while 27% of them were undecided and 20% disagreed. Being stress free or with less stress is associated with subjective wellbeing and the figures therefore seem to indicate that there is an element of wellbeing experienced by participants through having their stress relieved when they provide support. This was further expressed during the semi-structured interviews as participants said that life in the UK is very stressful due to high costs of living. Providing support helps meet the ill relatives' needs which otherwise would add to the stress that many are already experiencing.

Table 13l): relieves my stress

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	34	49.3
	neither agree nor disagree	19	27.5
	disagree	14	20.3
	Total	67	97.1
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
Total		69	100

4.8.13 Providing support makes me feel complete

Fifty seven percent (57%) of the participants agreed with this statement, 26% neither agreed nor disagreed while 13% disagreed. Feeling complete is one of the components of subjective wellbeing according to (Marks et. al 2004). The findings suggest that 57% of the participants achieve an element of subjective wellbeing through providing support. During the semi-structured interviews, participants expressed completeness to mean being whole physically, psychologically and spiritually.

Table 13m): makes me feel complete

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	39	56.5
	neither agree nor disagree	18	26.1
	disagree	9	13.0
	Total	66	95.7
Missing	missing value	3	4.3
Total		69	100

4.8.14 Providing support removes my sadness

According to figures shown in table 13n below 43% of the participants agreed that provision of support removes their sadness, 32% neither agreed nor disagreed while 20% disagreed with the statement. This seems to suggest that

most of the participants' sadness is relieved through provision of support. This appears to confirm earlier data where participants indicated that providing support does not make them angry (table 13j) and that providing support makes them happy (table 13i), these are issues of happiness, which imply a level of wellbeing (Marks et. al 2004). It is important to note that a significant proportion (32%) is undecided on this statement and 20% disagree. During the semi-structured interviews, a high level of sacrifice is involved in acquiring resources to provide because participants also have their needs and those of the immediate families to meet.

Table 13n): removes my sadness

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	30	43.5
	neither agree nor disagree	22	31.9
	disagree	14	20.3
	Total	66	95.7
Missing	missing value	3	4.3
Total		69	100

4.8.15 Providing support makes me feel frustrated

Those who disagreed with this statement form the highest proportion of 65% as in table 13p. Seventeen percent (17%) neither agreed nor disagreed and 14% agreed with the statement. Else -where in this mapping exercise, the data shows that provision of support is a Kenyan societal expectation. It is therefore understandable that participants disagree with provision of support making them feel frustrated since they are fulfilling what the community expects of them. However providing support comes at a cost as revealed by data from the semi-structured interviews and participant observations, as participants express a high level of sacrifice in providing support.

Table 13p): makes me feel frustrated

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	disagree	45	65.2
	neither agree nor disagree	12	17.4
	agree	10	14.5
	Total	67	97.1
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
Total		69	100

4.8.16 *Providing support is a societal expectation*

According to the figures, 41% of the participants agreed with this statement, a significant number (38%) neither agreed nor disagreed and 17% of the participants disagreed. A substantial proportion of participants were undecided about their stand in as far as this statement is concerned. Literature by Williams and Robinsons (2002) have shown that in the area of gift exchange, giving, caring, obligation and reciprocity intermingle, making it difficult to draw a boundary. During the semi-structured interviews, participants explained this better by saying that in Kenya like in many African countries, children are expected to look after their elderly parents and that one can sometimes be seen as an outcast if he/she neglects this role.

Table 13q): A societal expectation

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	28	40.6
	neither agree nor disagree	26	37.7
	disagree	12	17.4
	Total	66	95.7
Missing	missing value	3	4.3
Total		69	100

4.8.17 *Providing support prevents guilt feelings*

The majority (51%) of the participants in table 13r agreed to the statement that providing support prevents guilt feelings, 16% disagreed with this, while a significant proportion (30%) was undecided. Motivations for providing support were reported to revolve around many reasons; societal expectations, personal fulfilment and reciprocity among others, these factors usually blend to one another. The level of indecisiveness among the participants reflects this. If providing of support is a societal expectation as tables 10 and 13q in this chapter revealed, one would assume that not fulfilling this would lead one to feel guilty. During the face to face interviews participants expressed that they would feel guilty if their ill relatives continue to suffer and they do not provide to their needs, this appears to verify this perception.

Table 13r): prevents guilt feelings

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	agree	35	50.7
	neither agree nor disagree	21	30.4
	disagree	11	15.9
	Total	67	97.1
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
Total		69	100

4.8.18 *Providing support is a way of paying back for favours done in the past*

While a majority (48%) of the participants disagreed with this statement, a good proportion (29%) agreed and 18% were undecided. Further research through the semi-structured interviews revealed that participants perceive providing support as a way of paying back for favours done in the past and especially in relation to their upbringing in Kenya. This form of paying back in this community is not necessarily directly to the person who showed favour in the first place and as Lindley (2009) asserts paying back can be to any member of the extended family or community. Additionally the high proportion (48%) of those who disagreed with this statement could be linked to the factor that

aspects of reciprocity, meeting social expectations and social responsibility are said to be interwoven in the behaviour of gift exchange (Williams and Robinsons, 2002).

Table 13s): A way of paying back for favours done in the past

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	disagree	33	47.8
	agree	20	29.0
	neither agree nor disagree	13	18.8
	Total	66	95.7
Missing	missing value	2	2.9
	System error	1	1.4
	Total	3	4.3
Total		69	100

4.9 EMPLOYMENT AND THE PROVISION OF SUPPORT

Monthly provision of support was practiced by the majority of the participants with those in full time employment having the highest proportion of 43%; those in part-time employment follow with a proportion of 19% and students have a proportion of 6%, those in self employment have 5% and the lowest 2% is for those in receipt of benefits. Weekly and fortnightly provisions of support have lower proportions in each form of employment. As expected, participants in fulltime employment have the highest proportions across the frequencies. It is clear that participants in fulltime employment are in a better position to provide support.

Table 14: Employment by provision of support

				Frequency of providing			
				weekly	fortnightly	monthly	Total
employment	full-time	paid	Count	7	5	29	36
	employment		% of Total	10.4%	7.5%	43.3%	53.7%
	part-time	paid	Count	2	4	13	15
	employment		% of Total	3.0%	6.0%	19.4%	22.4%
	student		Count	2	2	4	6
			% of Total	3.0%	3.0%	6.0%	9.0%
	self-employed		Count	1	1	3	5
			% of Total	1.5%	1.5%	4.5%	7.5%
	in receipt	of	Count	1	1	1	3
	benefits		% of Total	1.5%	1.5%	1.5%	4.5%
	any other		Count	0	0	2	2
			% of Total	.0%	.0%	3.0%	3.0%
	Total		Count	13	13	52	67
			% of Total	19.4%	19.4%	77.6%	100.0%

4.10 EDUCATION AND ITS RELATION TO EMPLOYMENT

In linking the findings with the figures of table 5 which shows the education levels of the participants: 48%, that is, 33 out of 68 of the participants had at least a university degree. Table 15 below shows that out of that proportion, 34% or 22 of them were in fulltime employment. Seven percent, which is a total of 5 participants, were in part-time employment, 2 participants were students, 3 were self-employed and 1 was in receipt of benefits. During the semi-structured interviews, results showed that many participants were in nursing and teaching jobs. These are areas which for a while were considered to be in short supply of staff in the UK especially in the 1990s and early 2000s, the period when many of the Kenyan migrants are likely to have migrated. This may explain why many of those with at least a university degree are in fulltime employment. This was echoed in the findings of semi-structured interviews

where a number of the participants were in the professions of teaching and nursing. The figure in part time employment can be explained by the factor that migrants who hold student visas are not expected to hold full-time jobs. Additionally, during the semi-structured interviews, participants expressed that some professional qualifications were not recognized in the UK, which means that some migrants end up doing the jobs that the host population don't want to do even when they have qualifications acquired in their home countries. In such circumstances, an individual may be better off being in receipt of benefits than working part-time in poorly paid jobs especially if such a person has young children to take care of.

Table 15: Education and employment

			employment				
			full-time employment	paid part-time employment	student	self- employed	in receipt of benefits Total
highest education qualification	no education qualification	Count % of Total	1 1.5%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%
n	O-levels/ GCSEs/CSEs	Count % of Total	8 12.3%	5 7.7%	1 1.5%	1 1.5%	2 3.1%
	A-level diploma	Count % of Total	5 7.7%	5 7.7%	3 4.6%	1 1.5%	0 .0%
	university degree post graduate	Count % of Total	22 33.8%	5 7.7%	2 3.1%	3 4.6%	1 1.5%
	Total	Count % of Total	36 55.4%	15 23.1%	6 9.2%	5 7.7%	3 4.6%
							65 100.0%

4.11 SUMMARY

This chapter has detailed the findings and analysis of the survey, the initial stage of data collection, here known as the mapping exercise. Provision of

support among this Kenyan group appears to be embraced by both men and women, with women doing it more than men. Those married do it more in terms of marital status and Christians are the majority among those who provide. These findings could be explained by the nature of the sample. It is probable that I recruited more women than men through the influence of I being a female, a factor that may also explain why Christians are more although generally Christianity is a widespread religion among Kenyans. The cultural expectation among many Kenyan ethnic groups, for instance the Kikuyu is for permanence in marriage and this is also widely taught in the Christian faith, factors that could have explained why the proportion of those who were married was higher than those in other categories of marital status.

High levels of education are evident among the participants, the majority being those with a university degree and a postgraduate. None of the participants indicated that they lacked basic education. During the semi-structured interviews, participants portrayed high levels of enthusiasm in terms of furthering their education. While many indicated that they first came to the United Kingdom to further their studies, many are currently pursuing further education in the hope of getting better jobs, while others have the desire but are hindered by the high fees that such a venture demands. Datta et al. (2007) discusses about deskilling; where migrants take up jobs lower than their qualifications especially when their home country qualifications are not considered in the host country.

In terms of the illnesses reported, Diabetes, High blood pressure and Arthritis were the most common illnesses suffered by the relatives. Most of the participants provide support to either their mothers or fathers first followed by those who provided to their mother-in-law or father-in-law. Provision of support to extended family members was witnessed during the semi-structured interviews with participants providing to grandparents, uncles and aunts among others. For the forms of support provided, money, telephone calls, organising

prayers and visiting the ill relatives follow each other in order of importance as reported by the participants. Kenyans in this group highly value hearing voices of their family members and friends, which is achieved mostly through telephone calls. During the semi-structured interviews, hearing the voice of family and friends in Kenya was termed like a song to the ear and like gold, with participants indicating that they desired to tape that voice and keep on listening.

The major problems experienced in providing support are unstable exchange rates and sending less than required due to lack of enough resources. Other participants indicated that they encountered problems when support provided is not used as intended. This was probed further during the semi-structured interviews and participants reported that poor economic levels under which their families and friends are living in Kenya mean that the level of need is high. While participants have the desire to provide, the needs are more than the resources available to them for provision. The responses given in the section which assesses the participants' perceptions of provision of support shows that provision of support is important in construction, nurture and maintenance of transnational identity by the participants which consequently enhances their wellbeing in the host country. This is dealt with in more details in chapter 5 and 6 which deals with the results and discussions respectively. The following chapter deal with the results obtained from the semi-structured interviews and the participant observation.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines findings from semi-structured interviews and participant observation. It integrates my interpretation and verbatim quotes from the participants who took part in the interviews, data from observations and other forms of interactions which I had with different people in the Kenyan community. All this was done in order to explore how participants construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity through provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya as well as how this impacts on their wellbeing.

The major themes emanating from the data and which will be explored in this chapter include:

- ◆ The theme of transnational identity and giving as reflected in the act of giving, the nature of gift, intrinsic reward, reciprocity, obligation, sacrifice and service to God.
- ◆ The theme of transnational identity and belonging which is mirrored through participants' migration status and citizenship, effects of migration, citizenship and aspirations to return to Kenya, being a member of the UK Kenyan community, being a member of host community, accessing opportunities in country of residence in terms of jobs, education and safe environment.
- ◆ The theme of transnational identity and cultural symbols, explored through, food, language and symbols linked to appearance.
- ◆ The theme of transnational identity and wellbeing, which is perceived through happiness, completeness, autonomy which is linked to personal freedom.

The chapter ends with a theoretical framework which was constructed based on the analysis and results as examined in this chapter. The framework

schematically lays down the different themes and sub-themes including how they link to one another.

The research participants in this study have been assigned pseudonyms to protect their identity. The events observed have been coded as observation1, observation2 and observation3. The first two observations are the '*harambees*' which are fundraising events. The third event is the '*ngwataniro*' which is a fellowship/prayer meeting. As earlier stated, I have closely been involved and linked to the issues discussed in this study not only as a member but also as a leader in the Kenyan community resident in the UK. Additionally I and my family have been involved in provision of support to our chronically ill parents in Kenya. The following sections undertake to explore in detail each of the themes of this study.

5.1 TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY AND GIVING

5.1.1 The nature of the gift

The majority of recipients of support were close relatives in Kenya, for example, parents, siblings, and sometimes aunts and uncles. Participants described the provision of support in terms of meeting physical, medical, emotional, spiritual and financial needs, helping their relatives to live with their medical condition, and assisting them towards a more comfortable existence. In this study providing support to ill relatives in Kenya took many forms: while telephone calls were the most common form of communication employed by all participants, other means were sending text messages, sending email messages, and writing letters. Participants frequently referred to "*messages of encouragement*". Primacy was given to telephone calls; the sound of a relative's voice was likened to a song, and this level of personal contact was instrumental in being able to assess a relative's "*emotional state*", making it possible to respond to "*clues*" and offer advice. Gitonga, a male Kenyan who arrived in the

UK in 2002 with his wife and children after several attempts of applying for a visa, stressed the importance of telephone calls in terms of gauging the health status of the ill relative, either directly from that individual, or from other family members. He explained how his sick father might not relate the extent of his illness in order to avoid upsetting his son, so he talks with his mother as well. Most of the conversations revolved around the relative's illness, treatment availability and plans, and response to treatment. In one case, support was also provided to an uncle who was the main care provider for a migrant's father:

"... also supporting the uncle who is caring for him because he is caring for him 24 hours. That means he cannot get a job ... so we also try to support his needs and maybe buy him a few presents from time to time just to show appreciation for what he is doing ..."

(Mweni, female, 38 years)

The majority of participants were sending money to their sick relatives in Kenya, at variable intervals, but mostly on a monthly basis. The intention was usually that this money should be used to buy medicines or pay hospital bills, to buy food, and on occasions clothing. Because all receivers of support were either ill, or close relatives of the sick, concern was expressed by some participants that money sent to Kenya might not always be put to the best use. Furthermore the level of needs among the relatives far exceeds the resources provided. Odinga, a 36 year old male came to the UK, with his wife and children, to study for a Masters degree, and has since commenced Doctoral studies. As well as supporting his immediate family in the UK, Odinga also supports his mother in Kenya and had this to say:

"And sometimes I do shopping ... there are online services ... and I can look at the products being sold in Kenya, and I pay here in the UK, and my mum would just go and pick it up. Because sometimes when you

send money, the money is put for other use and I think nutrition, ... my mum is diabetic, and she may not buy the things that she needs to buy ... maybe she is trying to keep the money for some other use because there are so many needs.” (Odinga, male 36 years)

Wandia also had similar concerns:

“I think, I am happy when I see my brother [her dad’s carer] is doing what I ask him to do with the resources I provide, that one also kind of motivates me. When I ask my brother and he says yes we have taken dad to hospital, they have diagnosed this, I have bought the medication which is required, that drives me to help more. When I hear that he wants this and then when I provide he gets it, there is no kind of misuse of money, then I feel motivated to help” (Wandia, female, 35 years)

While sending remittances to family in Kenya was practiced by over half of the participants, other goods were sent as well. These included practical aids like incontinence sheets, hot water bottles, gloves, shoes, blankets, videotapes, and books. The giving of goods does exert some control over recipients by ensuring that the gift is used as intended.

A contribution from Ngugi, a 35 year old male whose first year in the UK was tough and had thought of going back to Kenya except for close relatives who supported him emotionally and who since then has moved on to become a college teacher and resides in the UK with wife and children provides a reminder that remittances are not ‘*just money*’.

“I would interpret support in two ways. I would imagine the overwhelming number of us who are here and rank the economic element very, very highly. This is because we are coming from societies which are not necessarily very well endowed with money. However,

support must extend beyond money because money in itself perhaps can only achieve so much. Support to me has to encompass; the material support, the emotional support, the spiritual support, and also maybe being there physically. Presence is important when you are able to travel there. Also of importance is when you are able to pass messages through a physical person, who is travelling there. All that to me would encompass support, so financial, emotional and spiritual would be especially important. Sometimes maybe even saying a short prayer with somebody when we are with them on the phone is absolutely important or maybe even giving them a verse that they could refer to that possibly could encourage them especially during the times when they are in pain or in sickness.”(Ngugi, male, 35 years)

As important as providing material support, was being able to provide emotional and spiritual support, but also to provide information about illnesses, appropriate medication, and treatment. The provision of health-related information featured prominently, as migrants in the UK search the internet in order to explore their relatives’ illnesses and send relevant information to Kenya. Access to resources in the UK could also serve to transmit different attitudes to illness across cultures and national boundaries. For example, Watetu, a female in her 40s and a former teacher in Kenya who left her job as a result of politically related tribal clashes and eventually travelled to the UK described the gift of advocacy, referring to providing support for her brother-in-law, stigmatized in Kenya by mental illness. She described the difficulties attached to trying to find a doctor in Kenya who has training that is sufficiently specialized to enable appropriate care for her brother-in-law. A suitable doctor might be located in Nairobi, which is Kenya’s capital city; however her brother-in-law lives in a rural community, where attitudes to mental illness is believed to be as a result of witchcraft or curses. Watetu acknowledged exposure to information in the UK that is not available in Kenya and feels the need to

advocate on his behalf and to create awareness that his mental illness can be treated:

"My communication with my brother-in-law has been a bit of a problem, but now, I communicate with him through my father-in-law's mobile phone. Because of the state of his sickness, he has to depend on somebody to advocate for his needs. My father-in-law is old, so sometimes I have to intervene on the phone to talk to his doctor who is far away. That means I am still doing advocacy even when I am here... I thank God for being here because I have a different attitude, I am able now to access information unlike when I was in Kenya ... because of the stigma linked to his illness I have to really communicate and advocate for his needs ..."(Watetu, female, 48 years)

During one of the fundraising events I interviewed one of the relatives and this is what he had to say in relation to advocacy after internet search related to the illness of his mum in law:

"My mum in law became sick in March 09 and like people always do in Kenya she thought it was just a normal illness but when it became serious, she was taken to a nearby hospital. She started being treated for acute Tuberculosis (T.B) but she continued to worsen. My wife (her daughter) and I agreed that she should travel to Kenya and check on her. My wife is a nurse and we had searched about her illness through the internet and we knew it was more than T.B. When her daughter arrived home, she took her to Agakhan hospital [one of the private hospitals in Kenya]. She was quickly diagnosed with ovarian cancer which had rapidly spread due to misdiagnosis"(observation1)

Providing support to ill relatives in Kenya thus entails more than sending money. Kenyan migrants in the UK also described the gift of time to their

relatives in Kenya. All participants travelled back to Kenya to spend time with their families, at varying frequencies. If not able to travel to Kenya themselves, fellow Kenyans who are returning to Kenya are asked to visit the family members of those who are unable to travel. Participants believed that it is important to give time to listen to their sick relatives, allowing opportunities to “*vent feelings*”. Christian convictions also required Kenyans to devote time to pray for their relatives. Time is also invested in extra working hours in order to send more remittances, which means less time to be spent with family in UK and on leisure activities, or on themselves. In the words of Ngugi, a 35 year old male teacher, support given in form of time has immeasurable value;

“... and I think this [provision of support] is in itself priceless. There is no price that you can say that this is what you can attach to the help you have given to people. The money that you have given them free, time that you have given away to them, to talk to them and to encourage them.”(Ngugi, male, 35 years)

This is also reflected in events observed:

“The master of ceremony welcomes everybody and expresses gratitude on behalf of the relatives concerned because of people taking their time to come and be with them in this time of need. She quotes from the bible that; it is good to do good and that Jesus said that when we visit the sick we do it for him”(observation1)

5.1.2 *Intrinsic reward*

While most participants struggled to send money to their sick relatives, the intrinsic reward that they felt outweighed any hardship. Participants talked about feeling satisfied, fulfilled, content and ‘*just good generally*’. A sense of achievement was expressed, accompanied by a reduction in levels of stress. One participant referred to “*a feel good hormone that will make my body*

healthy ... their comfort makes me comfortable." (Mwikali, female, 39 years), elsewhere, Odinga a male Kenyan student in the UK finds that *"the stress is gone, you are not worried about things any more"* (Odinga, male, 36 years) when sick relatives' problems in Kenya are resolved.

Health is a highly valued state to the participants in this study. Migrants felt motivated by a desire for their relatives to live longer and healthier lives; they felt privileged to have their own health and to be in a position to gain employment, and thus to be able to help others. One participant referred to '*psychic income*', which was described as satisfaction that accrues from helping others, in contrast to financial income, expressed in terms of being able to do something '*valuable*' for another person. In this case, Wanjugu, a 50 year old female professional, who has been in the UK for over 10 years and is supporting her diabetic mother in Kenya:

"I am doing something valuable for her. When I send her money, I know that my mother values receiving that money from me, because I am far away from home. Sending that money is like some kind of connection between her and me, and she values that ...it is as if she is seeing me. It is a connection, because, when they get that money, it is something tangible ... it is as if we are touching hands." (Wanjugu, female, 50years)

Participants were also motivated by the gratitude expressed by the recipients of their gifts, and, through their Christian beliefs, perceived themselves to be blessed by prayers bestowed on them by their appreciative relatives. Sometimes a sense of pride was evident when in a position to support parents. Wangeci had this to say in terms of what motivates her to continue providing support:

"One of the things that pushes me to continue doing this [providing support] is just to see how much this has been of help to her and when am talking to her ... how much she says thanks ... how grateful she is, and the fact that ... she does not have much support from any other sources" (Wangeci, female, 41 years)

5.1.3 Reciprocity

Strong feelings were evident concerning being able to give something back to families and communities that provided opportunities for advancement, notably through education, to migrants during their formative years. Some talked in terms of repaying a debt.

"I feel I owe to them, because they took care of me and if not me they took care of my husband who lives with me. I therefore feel they are part of me and I feel I owe them. When I am doing it, I feel it is my duty to care for them because they did their best when I was young." (Mwikali, female, 39 years)

Reciprocity is thus entrenched in cultural practices, for example, Atieno, a mother of two, and a teacher by profession claims that upbringing in Kenyan society demands that children have to care for their parents; it is a cultural norm, underpinned by cultural pressure. Providing support under such conditions can also be motivated by guilt. Atieno states that she has a lot of love for her mother, arguing that she would not be so sick if she had not striven to provide for Atieno's education and thus allowing her to be in the position she is in today. *"I have respect for what she has done I don't think I can repay enough what she did to put me where I am, so that is what drives me, it is like I owe her my life."* (Atieno, female, 35 years)

Thus, ideas of reciprocity are entrenched in family tradition, responsibility and a way of saying '*thank you*', of giving something back, not just to people in the immediate family, but also to the community as Wangeci points out:

"It is all about giving ... giving a bit back to the community or back to others. In the past I know people have helped me, so when I see myself helping someone else, it makes me feel like am giving back, am saying thanks, it may not be exactly my aunt who helped me, but it's kind of thanks for what others have done for me, so that's how I feel that am actually taking part in ... giving thanks and am not just having everything to myself, and I think it is something that comes from my family"
(Wangeci, female, 41 years)

During the observation of community events, a commonly used statement by different speakers was: *"today it is my brother with this need but tomorrow it may be any of us"*(observation3). This again implies the prevalence of notions of reciprocity through gift exchange among the participants.

5.1.4 *Obligation*

Related to perceptions of reciprocity are those of obligation, though not all participants used this term, and some were adamant that providing support is not an obligation. Some used the term expectation.

"... in the African culture, old people expect children to look after them and to take care for them in their old age. Almost every African child knows that it is part of their responsibility to look after the elderly parents, so supporting my mother or even my father, I am doing what they expect me to be doing, and this is to be caring for them."
(Wanjugu, female, 50 years)

"We send money regularly ... as often as we can, sometimes every month. But at times you find that I can get a text, saying oh we need money for medication, he is gone for tests and we need this money next month, or next week. In that case I have to manoeuvre ... in order to see how I can be able to accumulate the kind of money they want"
(Wandia, female, 35 years)

Some comments imply that such expectations are not always realistic, for example, Moi, who is in his 50s and residing in the UK with his wife described how stressful it can become when periods of unemployment render the sending of money to Kenya difficult, if not impossible; *"These relatives at home wouldn't know the kind of jobs we are doing here to get that money. Sometimes we are just praying that we get the jobs. ... We don't have permanent jobs here in the UK, so we keep on looking for jobs that are available"* (Moi, male, 52 years)

Reference was made to the demands of life in the UK, stressing that it is a '*first world*' country where everything goes very fast, even money, thus leaving the informants feeling drained financially, emotionally and physically.

Some described remitting as more of a voluntary act:

"I send money to my mum ... it's not like regularly ... but if it is for medical things, we all as a family have to contribute ... When I phone and she says that she needs something, then I will send her the money but it is not like something that is definite that I have to send money to her all the time, no." (Wangari, female, 35 years)

Altruistic tendencies were evident, for example, Muthoni was adamant that supporting her family in Kenya is not an obligation ... *"I actually enjoy it ... I am happy just knowing how they are doing ..."* (Muthoni, female, 38 years)

There was evidence of some vacillation between the two motivations. Some participants talked of provision of support in terms of '*obligation, but not an obligation*', one referring to it as not a '*mandatory obligation*', thus conveying some sense of concern that supporting sick relatives should not be construed as a burden, while at the same time suggesting some awareness of the demands made by providing support. While participants were clear about the nature of the gift, in terms of the meaning the gift holds for them, there are contradictions, which entail balancing notions of obligation with elements of volition, and an expression of generosity. Any suggestion of burden is balanced by the joy of seeing improvements in the sick relatives and receiving their gratitude.

5.1.5 *Sacrifice*

It is evident that some migrants do experience hardship in order to be able to provide material support to their sick relatives; remitting can have substantial repercussions for migrants. There were frequent reports of having a full time job, being a part-time student, but also taking opportunities to work overtime in order to provide for sick relatives.

"... You know, for us people on a salary, you have to do budgeting and most of this support we are talking about is not budgeted support, for example, medication. If she has to change her medication, I have to go back to my pocket, which would be maybe once in a month. So I want her to be comfortable, but it does have a big impact on my life and sometimes when I cannot afford it I feel very, very bad. ... I am left thinking how am I going to keep up with the demand not only from her but also from the people around her because they are supporting her, they also feel they should be supported ... They also want me to top up their pockets and then it becomes financially draining." (Atieno, female, 35 years)

Odinga, a 36 year old male is a student, sending money monthly to his mother, juggling the needs of his family in the UK with those of his mother in Kenya, and his aspirations to succeed in his studies:

"Ah, it is very tough ... the thing is, you know, you have this feeling of ... it has to be done. And somehow you get strength; you play around with your budget. Of course, you get into debt in the form of maybe credit card, and you work hard to make sure you live a very basic life. You know, my family ... we can't indulge in the things that we would have easily indulged in Kenya. We don't take holidays like we would. Birthdays for the kids are not as good as we would have had them back home. So we try to minimize our expenditure basically to food, accommodation, I think that is critical, my transport of course because I have to go to college. So we are able then to spare a little to be able to send back."
(Odinga, male, 36 years)

"... I do sacrifice a lot ... I need to pay my bills, I need to pay for my upkeep and still I need to sacrifice whatever else I am left with to care for my sick one at home, so it is total sacrifice. I have to work extra shifts when I am supposed to be home relaxing ..." (Ruto, male, 45 years)

"Sometimes you feel as if these people back home do not know how you are struggling to get those resources to fund this, but all the same, ... when you find that he is doing well, ... he is improving, ... you feel that you are proud to be a part of it." (Ruto, male, 45 years)

"A typical day will depend on what I am doing on that particular day, I have a full time job, and I am a part time student. I do shift work so depending on what shift I am doing ... although I am contracted for 39 hours, I get every opportunity to do over time because of the needs that

I have which are many. My salary is not able to meet all the needs, so that means having very little time for myself, and sometimes having to do without social life, it means a lot of sacrifice. A day like today I woke up at 5.30 am, I travel far to go to work, it takes me like one and a half hours to travel from home to central London and do an 8 hours shift, and travel back. I still have to ... create time for my social life, a day like today is a prayer day, so I plan may be after this interview to create time to go and fellowship with my brothers and sisters in the church just to have a bit of social life. When I am studying it is even harder, because you know like today we are on our summer break, where I go to study, but when I am studying and working, it means doing that 8 hr shift and then go to class in the evening and have little time for myself” (Watetu, female, 48 years)

5.1.6 Service to God

However, any sense of obligation was balanced by a powerful sense of serving God; the Kenyan people have strong religious beliefs, aiming to be ‘good Christians’ through following the Bible.

“... because us we are Christians and it is also a command from God that we should honour our parents and that includes our grandparents so we are also indebted because of our Christian faith ...” (Mweni, female, 35 years)

Provision of support is closely linked to the Christian doctrine of giving which is taught in the Christian faith and which is guided by the idea of God being a giver through giving Jesus Christ his only son to die for the sake of the world as quoted in the bible in John 3:16. Many participants quoted this scripture during the semi-structured interviews to justify their behaviour of providing support which to them means it is a service to God and they are doing something that ‘God has blessed’. To this end, some participants are happy to provide support

to their ill relatives to also enable them to fulfil their religious obligations with the reason that the illness cannot allow them to work and earn money to meet this need. Koigi, a male Kenyan in his 40s who provides support to his mother suffering from Parkinson's disease says:

"... My mum likes going to church, so I keep sending to her Kshs. 1,000 [approximately 10 pounds] so that she can be able to offer in church, to give thanks for the life God has given my mum." (Koigi, male, 42 years)

Wangeci, a single mother in her 40s, talked about the privilege of enjoying good health: *"I am a Christian, so I refer to what God has given me as a privilege to serve someone else"* (Wangeci, female, 41 years). Peace of mind and a sense of wellbeing were experienced by migrants in the UK as a consequence of keeping the Christian faith, referred to as a '*moral compass*' that guides them to support their sick relatives in Kenya and also guides them in how to conduct themselves, for instance in their marriage life, as Wandia explains:

"Church meetings are quite very, very important in many ways because they help me to keep my ground even as a married woman, so that I have not lost my moral focus. Here in the [UK], life is different from back home, you are coming in from work, your husband is going to work, those who have got children you are picking and you are dropping, so as we meet then we share on how to go about those issues without affecting our marriages and bringing up of children as well, so they are quite very important meetings" (Wandia, female, 35 years)

However, the migrants also derived benefit from blessings bestowed on them by sick relatives in Kenya through their prayers. Once again, the element of reciprocity appears to be an essential component of the act of gift giving.

Furthermore community events among Kenyans usually incorporate a number of prayer sessions. For the events observed in this study, prayers were offered for food at the very start of the event, then again to formally begin the programme. Within the main body of the programme a preaching session was held and the preacher prayed again for the event as well as for family members. Additionally many of the speakers during the events quoted bible verses or gave biblical illustrations to emphasize their points. All events ended with a final prayer and all this portrays the importance of Christian faith among the participants in this study.

5.1.7 Social relations

The gift exchange, then, is a way of confirming group boundaries. Gift giving plays a role in status maintenance by imposing an identity on the giver as well as the receiver. The choice of the gift can therefore reflect the way the receiver perceives the giver. For example, the provision of information about illnesses that might not be available in Kenya conveys a sense of superior knowledge that commands respect, and thus may serve to enhance the elevated status of the educated migrant. Likewise, the provision of material goods, as opposed to cash, again suggests that the migrant *'knows best'*.

The provision of support to relatives in Kenya afforded migrants in the UK several opportunities to reaffirm their identity in terms of social relations. In relation to the importance of telephone calls:

"These are people you are linked to through blood, so when you hear a voice from one of them ... it kind of connects you ... you feel very much together ... it's like a song ... a voice gives you a very strong connection.
(Wangeci, female, 41 years)

Providing support to relatives in Kenya *'fills a void'* according to Ngugi, created through absence from one's home country. The importance of gatherings

serving as vehicles for maintaining identity was evident. These meetings also served very practical purposes. For example, Watetu who was surprised by her grandmother's request for a mobile phone yearned to find a fellow Kenyan who was going home and who could take the phone to her:

"I usually get to know the people who are travelling home in order to send information and unless I go to those gatherings how am I going to know who is going home."

"... We may not be able to support the whole nation, but you know making a difference even in one person's life is a drive that keeps Kenyans going. Can you imagine how many 'Harambees' are organized in a week or in a month.....? 'Harambee' means fundraising to us ... even if I go with just £5, the way they receive it, makes me just want to go to that occasion ..." (Watetu, female, 48 years)

Fellowship meetings are convened among the Kenyan community in the UK in order to pray for sick relatives in Kenya. These meetings provide opportunities for reaffirmation of identity and reduction of feelings of homesickness. Participants talked of feelings of '*something missing*' and '*disorientation*' when links with home were lacking. During these meetings importance is attached to praying together and also raising funds to support sick relatives. These meetings afforded opportunities to share Kenyan food and talk in Kenyan languages, leading one participant to claim: *"I felt like I have gone back to Kenya for 5 hours today"* (Wangari, female, 35 years), suggesting the creation of a little piece of Kenya in the UK.

The need for transmission of cultural beliefs and values was evident in expressions to the effect that taking care of one's parents will ensure that one's children will, in turn care. Providing support to a sick relative in Kenya, and the consequent appreciation, contributes to the strengthening of bonds.

"It means a lot to me because I maintain my links with the people back home... if I don't do that I will lose my own personal identity." (Wangari, male, 35 years)

Fortunes and wellbeing of relatives in Kenya are closely related to the migrant's own fortune and wellbeing, expressed through: *"Loyalty to my family, to my country..."* (Ngugi, male, 35 years)

The construction and nurturing of identity through gift exchange is also demonstrated through the words of Wanjira who asserts:

"my parents are so loving and so giving, we had to take an example from them, It is us as children, who sat down and decided and not them, they did not ask us to pay for their hospital bills ... it is our choice to do this for them, and especially in these economic times, it is just a way of being thankful to them, for all they ever did in our lives, for all the sacrifices they took for our lives before ... I think it just comes automatically, you copy what your mum does, what your dad does. My mum when we were in Nairobi, we lived in the city, my grand parents lived upcountry and both my grand dads were dead but my mum worshipped [attended church] every Sunday upcountry so that she could visit both grand mums and make sure that they had enough food for the week, they had enough care, they had everything they needed and she did that till their dying day. When one of my grand mother was ill in hospital ... I saw all my uncles and aunties contribute towards that bill ... I saw them come together as a family to do this for somebody that they love and I think it's when you learn and when you see from people ... you see how they do things and ... you carry it along" (Wanjira, female, 40 years)

5.2 TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY AND BELONGING

Transnational identity for migrants is usually evidenced through the exhibition of behaviour or mannerism that connects two or more nations. A good example is when migrants perceive their sense of belonging in the host country to be similar to their sense of belonging to their home country. The findings of this study reflect transnational identity among the participants. The perceptions of the participants reflect transnational identity as happening in a continuum or social field with participants saying they feel they belong to the UK to an extent and giving their reasons for this but also reporting they do not feel a sense of belonging and again justifying why they feel so. Additionally, they also continue to feel they belong to Kenya. Sub themes under transnational identity are discussed hereunder:

5.2.1 Migration status and citizenship

For many migrants, legal status to reside in the host country is usually of great significance. This is because legal status is usually accompanied among other things by permission to work and travel. For the participants in this study, the migration status and the duration they have been residing in the UK influences their sense of belonging. Acquiring British citizenship is viewed as a tangible proof of being a citizen. Kenyans generally speak highly of the 'red book' referring to the British passport which is said to enhance one's sense of belonging. Additionally long durations of residency allow the participants to get used to the British way of life, therefore enhancing their sense of belonging. This is reflected in the words of participants as below:

"I feel a sense of belonging because now I am a citizen. I have been here for sometime, and I feel it is my second home. I belong to the UK, as much as I have come from Kenya. I feel this is my second home." (Mwikali, female, 39 years)

Yes I can say I belong, for to be honest I am also a British citizen. In that sense especially when I went for the citizenship ceremony I felt yes, I belong. (Mweni, female, 35 years)

"I have stayed [in UK] for more than seven years. I am getting used to their culture, and to their way of doing things. It becomes the second home in the sense that I can identify myself as a British because I have been here long enough. I can call it comfortably the second home." (Mwikali, female, 39 years)

"I feel part of this country because I have lived in the UK for the last ten years. Actually I celebrated my 10 years on Saturday that is the 1st of August 09, because I came to this country on the 1st of August 1999. I thank God for the 10 years and for having given me this country as a second home. I call it a second home and I love it." (Nekesa, female, 45 years)

Participants holding student visas expressed their concerns in that they will be required to leave the UK after their studies. At the moment they are not allowed to work in the area related to their profession because their entry clearance has limitations and this seems to create a lot of anxiety especially concerning what will happen after they finish their courses. Such concerns can be evaluated in line with the economic difficulties that possibly forced many to leave Kenya to look for greener pastures abroad coupled with the burden of providing support, which may be jeopardised in the event that they go back after their studies. As a student, Wandia had this to say:

"That [on sense of belonging] is quite a bit tricky. This is because as a student I always remember that at the end of the day I will have to go back home. That is according to what the visa requires when you finish your course, so I cannot say that I feel a sense of belonging. I know

what I have been able to achieve here through the education but then I am looking forward again also to do a lot more with the qualifications I have achieved [implying to work here in the UK]. For now I cannot say that I really feel a sense of belonging because I have not worked here in my line of profession ... unless after I have finished my course to see what will come next. (Wandia, female, 35 years)

The process of waiting for five years before being granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK causes concern among participants which limits their sense of belonging. This is usually followed by another year of waiting before you can apply for naturalization, besides the fees that one has to pay for these services. The participants perceive that being in the UK legally, working and paying taxes should be enough to enable them to enjoy full rights as citizens instead of waiting for 5 years before one can apply for indefinite leave to remain as Mwikali asserts:

"Things are not easy in the sense that, you come here, you work, year one, year two up to five years, you pay tax and if like for example I was working with my husband, the tax that we were paying by the end of the month is around 1,000 pounds and you work for those years like anybody else is doing but aah, you don't get anything in turn, even the help with the children like the child tax credit just the basic things, you are not entitled basically to anything, any help from the government even with the children." (Mwikali, female, 39 years)

Participants perceive that the cost that one has to pay to become a citizen in the host country is huge and in the process one is denied many of the privileges enjoyed by the host population. While this process has been daunting enough for migrants, the government aspires to make this even harder through 'earned citizenship' where the number of years before applying for citizenship

will be added, the English tests to be done will be increased and prove of integration into the community will be demanded.

5.2.2 *Making trips to home country*

Travelling to far off and new lands is greatly valued by many Kenyans. A proverb on travelling implies the benefits of travelling because those who travel are perceived to acquire more knowledge, '*Kumagara ni kuhiga*' and learning makes a person admirable in the society because they are seen to be wise, therefore better. This is further elaborated to mean that the world is a great book and those who never travel read only one page of it, which seems to imply they will only know their home country. Kenyans highly regard those who have travelled abroad and they are usually welcomed back with great joy and celebrations when they visit. In many families, a goat is slaughtered in honour of their visit and friends and relatives bring gifts as a way of expressing the joy of re-union. Such gifts may include; fresh milk from neighbours, fresh fruits and vegetables among others. When Kenyans return to the UK from such visits, they share news from Kenya. Some even upload video clips on Kenyan community websites related to their visits.

Many of the participants reported that they frequently travel to Kenya to visit their ill relatives, at least once in a year. Although this way of maintaining links is expressed as '*very expensive*' it greatly impacts on their sense of belonging. When Kenyans travel to their home country, it acts as a reflection of the importance of their own ethnic origin. Many of the Kenyans in this study came to the UK as adults and a number of them already had families. This implies that they owe their formative stages in life to their home country and that their identity is influenced by this Kenyan upbringing which they long to maintain links with while residing in the UK. Travelling therefore, is a way of constructing transnational identity.

When migrants travel to Kenya with their children who in turn get to learn about their parents' traditional way of life, then the nurturing of transnational identity is achieved because the children get to learn and eventually practice this way of maintaining links with Kenya. Holiday seasons like Christmas are greatly valued for this kind of travel because Kenyan families tend to gather together during such events and so the migrants can meet as many members of both their nuclear and extended families as possible. Additionally in such forums the migrants' children can now get to know and meet members of the family they had not met before. This is clearly reflected in the words of Atieno, a female professional in her 30s who is providing support to her mother:

"... and I also visit Kenya a lot, I like visiting Kenya during Christmas because that is the time when families come together including those that work far away. During that time I and my mum [the ill relative] talk a lot and she really enjoys those moments. She will be waiting for the next year to come so that we can visit again. The kids also love to spend time with their grand mother and the grand mother love to spend time with the kids. I like that, it is a good way of keeping links and I wish I could do that a little bit more." (Atieno, female, 35 years)

Travelling to Kenya also enables the migrants to travel to key areas in the country to enhance their knowledge of the home country. Going for holidays as it is done in the Western countries is not habitual for Kenyans, although this has changed with time, visiting other parts of the country while visiting Kenya has become trendy, an aspect of influence possibly by the lifestyle abroad in the UK. The migrants are seen to be interested among other things in visiting tourist attraction sites especially those they had not managed to visit while growing up in Kenya. This could be attributed to better financial position compared to the life before they left home. Sometimes they take their relatives with them on tour. *"so when I visit Kenya I have to create time may be once in a day to go see her [ill mum], take her to places that she normally would not*

go, those kind of things that would make her forget what she is going through.”
(Atieno, female, 35 years)

Among the Kenyans in the UK, when people cannot travel back home, they frequently send friends and others who are travelling there to convey greetings and take gifts and parcels to their families. Receiving greetings and parcels from relatives living in the UK through those who are travelling is equated to physically seeing them and it is significantly important in constructing and nurturing transnational identity among migrants. During one of the fundraising events observed, the coordinator had travelled to Kenya and he had been requested to visit the ill relative and the excerpts below reflect what happened when he came back:

“The coordinator of the fundraising event who is also a pastor started by talking about his meeting with the ill person, who is the daughter of a member of the Kenyan community whom he was requested to visit in hospital” (Observation 2)

“I was very happy when I phoned home and I was informed that my pastor who had travelled to Kenya had gone to visit my daughter in hospital. The pastor later explained to me the details of the visit when he travelled back to the UK. To me it was like I had physically travelled to see my daughter, I was therefore very happy and grateful to my pastor” (Observation 2)

Furthermore travelling gives migrants an opportunity to share learned new ways and cultures, for example foods and styles of cooking and Western way of dressing among others. Additionally when they travel back they want also to exhibit their way of doing things in their home country to their host community, for instance in terms of their traditional wear. Migrants also take advantage of carrying back with them symbols related to Kenya, for instance Kenyan spices,

for example, 'royco', and other items like tea, Kenyan white corn and flour, Kenyan clothes and flags. The notion of symbols is discussed in detail elsewhere in this chapter. There are expressions by the participants of the many Kenyan things they miss while in the UK and travelling enables them to link with those things physically and to carry back with them whatever they can. For instance Odinga and his family:

"... Well the thing is once in a while like the few times we've gone to visit Kenya we just come back with a few of those household items, you know, foods. Sometimes also some friends who visit we could ask them to come with something. Relatives there actually many times send some things like, unga (white corn flour) ... it's fun, small things like royco (Kenyan spice)"(Odinga, male 35 years)

5.2.3 *Effects of migration*

Factors related to the process of migration affect the participants' sense of belonging. This is expressed differently by different participants depending on their unique experiences. Additionally effects of migration include participants' perception of their circumstances related to migration which for some may include experiences in their home country before departure, which at times may be reflected through horrific experiences like torture. This is important in understanding the circumstances under which migrants live in the host country, which may usually have bearing from what they experienced in their host country before departure. For participants who have been on work permit, their sense of belonging is affected negatively because the conditions of their visas do not allow them to benefit from public funds even though they work and pay taxes until they qualify to get indefinite leave to remain in the UK. Migration rules are termed as unfair and complicated to understand and a sense of belonging would be enhanced if they were made easier to understand. One case cited is where a participant changed residence after obtaining her indefinite leave to remain and after being out of the country for more than the

specified time (which she was not aware of), she failed to meet the requirements of being a British citizen and had to start the process all over again. Having been in the country for a long time and served in the public service as a nurse, she felt her case needed to be considered differently. She however acknowledged that it is the requirement of the law and it has to be followed:

"I wish there was an easier way or the system would be easier or recognize my efforts and my commitment to the country in that way, but obviously, you know, there are rules and, and I did miss on the rules because, partly I did not know all of them, and you know, I just missed some parts and by the time I realized, I had already been out for more than 450 days which is what is required, so, you know, I suppose the rules is what they are, but I just think they can be a bit straight, I don't know, I don't know, I just feel I wish they would lighten, or may be just recognize people who, for their service, may be the nurses should really get like 2 years instead of 5, because we work so hard for NHS and ... it is almost like being in the army"(Muthoni, female, 38 years)

For other participants the journey to the UK was a daunting experience. To some, this was their first experience on the plane and some expressed that the journey was not planned but it was the only way out due to the prevailing circumstances in Kenya at the time. Furthermore some were forced to leave family behind and this made them all the more apprehensive through the journey and beyond. This detracts their sense of belonging and further slows down the process of settling down. Wandia expressed how she felt when she was given a student visa to the UK but her husband was denied a visa to accompany her:

"As a married woman, we had planned to come with my husband from the beginning ... but it was kind of difficult that we could not get the visa

both of us. So I was given visa but he was denied, so that became a little bit hard but he was ready to release me to come so he stayed back. That is why it was a little bit hard for me to settle when I came. We tried again and there were a lot of complications. The requirement of the registration for him to join me here as a couple ... applying again the second time we had to go through the appeal process. I had to stand my ground, you know, with the immigration, I had to say look, the important thing for me is standing as a family. Education can be got anywhere but I need my husband next to me for support in order to achieve the education which I have come for here. I think they looked into that and they were like oh I think this is quite an important point. So at the end of the day the immigration office is the one that really had to phone back home to the British High Commission in Kenya and told them to give my husband the visa to come over. That was quite, really challenging. When he arrived, that is now when we started the process of settling down because he has joined me. We started a whole new process ... a lot of things that we had now to put together as a family. (Wandia, female, 35 years)

Visa processing in Kenya is termed as difficult because the rate of being denied a visa by the British High Commission is high and this acts as a block to many. Being denied a visa is very costly for Kenyans because the fees paid are usually high and non-refundable and this is usually very demoralizing for many. In most cases acquiring the fees and meeting the many requirements necessary to apply for a visa are usually a family affair and therefore the cost of being denied a visa is more often felt extensively as expressed in the words of Gitonga:

"The process was not easy at all, and I would say that it was very, very difficult. This is because I desired to come earlier than I came and I applied for visa. The British High Commission in Nairobi (Kenya), they

declined to give me visa twice and therefore I felt very bad. I wanted to come here for further studies but these people do not want to believe that I am able to sustain myself. Twice they denied me visa and I had paid some money, you feel bad, you feel demoralized, you wonder, why are these people so strict that they cannot allow you to go [to the UK]. I think the system should be made clearer. If somebody is coming to study, the government should have good links that this person is coming to this university, and they will keep in touch so that the government is aware where this person is and which university he is studying in. Stopping this person who has been given an invitation, an admission to a university and then you stop it, is as though you fear. You have already checked his character, you have asked him for police proof of good record, and you have asked him for deposit of some money or proof of finances. If he has provided all these, then you need to have another mechanism. Probably decide how you are going to be monitoring him here [in UK]. Mostly the fear is that when you come over here [UK], you will not be able to go back after the studies. Sometimes this is true because here there are more resources and opportunities where you can make money, probably in a faster pace than back in Kenya.” (Gitonga, male, 41 years)

5.2.4 Aspirations to return to Kenya

While there are reports of a sense of belonging in the UK, it is evident that there are also expressed desires by the participants to eventually return to Kenya. Their sense of belonging in the UK is experienced hand in hand with the latter. This is reflected in words like, *'I have two homes'*, *'yes and no'*, when asked whether they feel a sense of belonging in the UK, and *'I will never say I am not a Kenyan.'* Most of the participants when questioned about whether they feel a sense of belonging in the UK found the question *'tricky and hard'* and reported that they felt a sense of belonging to a given extent. There are a

vast number of participants who would want to retire in Kenya as reflected in the words of Wanjugu below:

"Well [laughs], a sense of belonging, I have lived here because I have done all my further studies here so I have lived here for long. I brought up my daughter here and we have bought a property here, so it is home really. However I still have another home and that is Kenya where I will eventually go back to."(Wanjugu, female, 50 years)

"I do not expect to spend the rest of all my life here, so as much as I feel I belong here, I still feel that at the end of the day I would like to retire back home in Kenya. I don't see myself as an old woman in the UK, no, because the way I see myself, I would like to be able to even when I am an old woman, be able to move around, go to the shops, go to the farm. I don't have a farm here but I do have a small farm back home in Kenya, so I would like to be able to go to my farm and do some gardening and all of that."(Wanjugu, female, 50 years)

Aspirations to return are usually linked to being raised in Kenya coupled with the fact that family and friends are there. Participants regard their upbringing highly and it is termed as one of the factors that contribute to adapting to the life in the UK. The inclination of the participants to return to Kenya is mostly based in this context but they also acknowledge that for the time they have been residing in the UK, the host country has become their 'mother' because it has met their needs.

"They [Migrants] also come with a lot of baggage but most of them do come with a clean heart too, to improve their lives. We are all trying to improve our lives and trying to improve the lives of those we left behind and we work extremely hard. In that way I would say I thank God for my upbringing and other people's upbringing that has helped us to be

who we are today, to adapt in a country that is quite fresh. I know there are people who come from a place like here [UK], if they have to go and adapt back in a county like Kenya, to start life all over again, they would find that a daunting experience, so I put my thumbs up to say that we [migrants] do try a lot to adapt and to fit into this society. (Atieno, female, 35 years)

Aspirations to return to Kenya are further expressed through a desire to be with people whom you can identify with, as Atieno continues to express:

"It would be so much good if I knew I can wake up in the morning and I can have my mum there talking to me. It would feel so good if I know everybody who I will talk to the whole day will identify themselves with me, it would give me so much joy. (Atieno, female, 35 years)

5.2.5 *Being a member of the UK Kenyan community*

Participants in this study portray element of collectivism, they value their social networks in terms of family and others and they frequently refer to their wellbeing issues being dependent on the relationship they have with others. There is mention of the importance of being with people whom *'you share similar things'*, having *'a common faith'* and *'a common upbringing'*. For participants in this study, meeting together appears to give them resilience, which enables them to face the hectic life they face in the UK. It is in those meetings that participants are re-fuelled and re-energized to enable them to continue on with life in the host country. Furthermore it is during those meetings that their Kenyan identity is nurtured. Kenyans are traditionally a collective society and there is mention of a lot of collective activity that takes place in the community including: church gatherings, fundraising events and birthday parties just to mention a few. When asked to comment on the effect of these gatherings in their lives, a number of the participants had this to say:

"Well, those [gatherings] are where sanity comes back, after a very long and hectic week, you go meet other people that are talking about their week, and you laugh about it. That laughter, you know, gives you energy to go on for another week. I like meeting people who can speak my language so that I can also go on and laugh in my own language - that kind of thing. It helps the kids to interact and play around with their friends. They are happy to say I am learning this Swahili [Kenyan language] word, I am learning this, and yes, I like it, I like it, when I have to meet people from my country. "(Atieno, female, 35 years)

"From my perspective as an African we are a community people, you know. We meet, we chat, we make noise and we eat together, we dance, we sing, so that is why we organize community gatherings. "(Gitonga, male, 41 years)

"Oh dear, very, very important, I think, as anybody would witness when you meet with people from your country. It may give you an opportunity may be to speak in your mother tongue which is very powerful. It may give you a chance may be to gossip a bit about politics back home. It may give you an opportunity to exchange ideas about the opportunities which are available in terms of business, in terms of, employment opportunities, in terms of meeting new people and may be for some even opportunities to be invited for ceremonies like weddings which still may be reinforces the very, very element of us as Kenyans as Africans who still feel attached to the extended family that we want to give our support and so forth, it is extremely powerful for me." (Ngugi, male, 35 years)

For all the events observed, attendance, participation and contributions are done on a voluntary basis. This is usually possible through the participants' consideration that while today it may be a given individual with this kind of

need, tomorrow it can be any other person. It is this level of self giving that makes many who spoke during the observed events to appreciate the participants and their sacrificial involvement. The following excerpt explains this:

"The women had organized themselves to cook voluntarily depending on which dish one is comfortable with and all the food items are then assembled in the meeting hall. Where one cannot afford to buy the ingredients needed, the money is taken from the committee fund and given to such an individual to buy the ingredients and cook" (observation 1)

5.2.6 *Being a member of host community*

Participants' sense of belonging is also enhanced when they take part in activities going on in the society in which they currently live. This is especially reflected in voluntary activities which come in different ways. It can be said that Kenyans are used to volunteer for a common good. This is reflected through their participation in '*harambees*', which are forms of fund-raising events which means '*pulling together*' (resources) to meet a common objective. It is especially common in Kenya where people meet to raise funds to build a school, a health centre or accomplish other community projects. There are perceptions that community work outside of the Kenyan community in the UK enhances one's integration process in the host community because one is able to understand different cultures and also to appreciate them. The participants below express how being involved in the community enhances their sense of belonging:

"I feel part and parcel of the community when I am making decisions like for instance for the community centre in ... and meeting with the councillor. When we make decisions and plans for the local area, you feel you are part of it. When supporting and working with the community and

young people in the area, you feel you belong to the area.” (Ruto, male, 45 years)

“I belong here [UK]; by the way I have done a lot of community work here as well. This is because I really want to know what it is that is different here and I would really like to know how people live ... I get so fascinated... It [community voluntary work] gives me satisfaction because unless I know the culture and the way people are here, I cannot feel like I am part of them ... remember I told you about my church being multicultural; it is because you cannot belong unless you meet other people. How can you value that diversity unless you get to know them, you get to know this is what they respect and need to respect it. There is no way you can fit here feeling a stranger, you need to really, really be engaged if you have to benefit more. I came to know about the mental health issue through participating ... there is no other way I would have been motivated even to look for help to support my brother in law, so I feel I belong I feel comfortable.” (Watetu, female, 48 years)

5.2.7 Opportunities in host country

Many of the participants in this study migrated to the UK due to economic decline in Kenya, coupled with political instability; therefore they are keen to look for greener pastures in terms of employment, education and safe environments among others. When they acquire this for themselves and for their children, it is highly regarded and it enhances their sense of belonging. Furthermore provision of support to chronically ill relatives on a regular basis is only possible if one acquires employment in the host country. No wonder participants refer to the UK as *'my mother'* because of being fed and accommodated. This is what Ngugi expresses below:

“I sincerely do [feel a sense of belonging] I think this country has had a very, very positive effect on myself. We have been able to access

opportunities which may be in all fairness would not have been available in Kenya either because of the phase where our country was in the economic or the technological cycle, or may be because of the way society is set up. I feel attached to this country, I would want to make my own contributions to the communities that I live in and I usually do. (Ngugi, male, 35 years)

In terms of health services, Kenyans in the UK experience better health services as compared to their families and friends in Kenya. Many people in Kenya experience problems with counterfeit medicine, incomplete or wrong diagnosis and problems of meeting the costs of medical care. This can partly be explained by increased privatization of health care services in Kenya, thus leading to compromised health standards in some areas in Kenya and concentration of health provision services in major cities of the country, leaving the rural areas where majority of the population resides without enough health care services. This is expressed by participants in their words:

"We have been recommended to buy medicine from Nairobi hospital chemist by the consultant, my brother's personal doctor who is Dr. (XX), he told us that ... he found that the medication they[some patients] have been taking was fake, it was not the real medication that they were supposed to take but there is that loophole in Kenya where medicines are flooded in Kenya, it is fake medicines and it is in the hands of people who are not supposed to actually be ministering medication and that is quite a big problem in Kenya but we cannot sort it out, yourself or myself alone but it needs to be sorted by the government because it is in the highest places, the people who supply this medication are in the highest places" (Ruto, male, 45 years)

"We all know the health system in Kenya it is not efficient therefore we need to pray for those attending him [implying the doctors] so that God will show him favour." (Observation3)

"The pastor explained how in Kenya title deeds are usually given in exchange of or to stand for the hospital bills of relatives and expressed that we do not want this to happen to our friends' family. Because we love them we will give, you cannot love and not give because even the bible says that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son (John3:16)"(observation1)

For some, sense of belonging is enhanced by the acknowledgement that countries of the world are experiencing high levels of interconnectedness. This implies that through improvement in technology, life is faster now than it used to be. Usually this level of interconnectedness is greatly evident in the Western countries where democracy is well advanced as opposed to Africa. As a result participants value the way things are done in the UK because the system is fairer than what they experienced while in Kenya. They are therefore exposed to diverse possibilities in life and are able to take advantage of them. There is the perception among the participants that one is learning about different cultures and adding to their knowledge which makes them different from the people they left in Kenya who may not appreciate other people's culture due to lack of a similar exposure. This kind of mentality enables the participants to value their being in the UK with some referring to it as '*starting life again*'. Watetu seems to have grasped this dearly as her words indicate:

"I do feel a sense of belonging ... I particularly value the openness in this place because ... it was like an opener that opened up my mind. In fact to be very sincere I had not seen life beyond being a primary school teacher when I was back at home. Therefore for me being in UK is something I value it is like starting life again. Honestly ... I am not even

sensing that I am growing old ... the motivation, the self esteem ... and that is why it makes me feel, I really, really, belong. This is the place I want to be"(Watetu, female, 48 years)

Other participants have regarded safe environments in the UK highly as a significant factor that enhances their sense of belonging. Many Kenyans experienced police harassment due to political instability, experiences that haunt them even now when they are in the UK. Their former experience of harassment by police in Kenya is said not to be present in the host country although some mentioned they are not amused by some occurrences of victimization of black Africans by police in the UK through stop and search techniques. Ruto had this to say:

"We found a place that we can be able to walk freely without harassment by the police, although that does not dismiss the harassing of the black community by the police here in the UK. We still felt that it was not as much as it was back home and we felt that this is a place that somebody cannot chase you or follow you because you have 10 pounds in your wallet. Back home somebody could follow you or strangle you for 100 pounds, but here we find that you can withdraw 100 pounds and nobody is interested in snatching it from you. Although these days I have found that there are people who are snatching even purses and things are getting worse."(Ruto, male, 45 years)

"As an immigrant, I thank God that we are in this country and I find a lot of difference because it is a bit peaceful. You can walk any time you want and you can go freely and no body will attack you. I feel so safe here and I thank God that I am here ... I also enjoy meeting different people from other countries because this [UK] seems to be like an international contact. You have people represented from every country in the world, so I feel so great that I am here"(Kanini, female, 50 years)

5.3 TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL SYMBOLS

Participants frequently mentioned their attachment to a number of cultural related symbols as factors that influence their sense of belonging in the UK. Some of them are; food and language.

5.3.1 Food

The importance of food among Kenyans is very evident. Kenyans are good at socializing and every social gathering is accompanied by eating and drinking. It is evident that Kenyans make use of food both originally from Kenya and from the UK. Traditionally social events like wedding negotiations, weddings, rites of passage, and family and clan gatherings involved a lot of eating and drinking. Although this is still true in the contemporary society during weddings, Christmas gatherings and birthday parties, the types of food used have continually changed. A gesture that is very common among the Kenyans is that every visit is signified by the visitor carrying a few food items like sweet potatoes, milk, and bananas in the traditional society and in the contemporary society items like bread, cookies, drinks and tea bags are carried. During the field work, I carried food items to the participants' home like milk, bread and cookies. This was as a sign of respecting this norm which is valued in the community, even among Kenyans in the UK.

The importance of food from Kenya among the participants is additionally implied by the fact that it is the food that Kenyans ate when they were growing up and using it in the UK connects the people to their home country. Participants express great longings for Kenyan food; *'I miss my food'*, *'I miss my real nyama choma [Kenyan Barbeque]'*, but they also express that they have embraced food items used in the UK, which in this case reflects transnational identity. Although shops in the UK do not offer the exact foods

found in Kenya participants try to buy food substitutes to what is found in Kenya and they portray their perception of food as a cultural symbol that connects them to Kenya as below:

"Well, food from Kenya, it means a lot, it means a lot, a lot really, a lot, because that is the food that we were fed with for over 30 years. I left Kenya when I was 32 years, so from when I was born, I have eaten it for 32 years so to me it means a lot, the taste of that food means a lot to me. It connects me to the people back there, when I eat for instance a sweet potato from Kenya it tells me probably my mum is eating this, so it gives me a fresh memory of my people. I would say that even coffee when I buy coffee from Kenya, many times I do, and I feel good because it connects me, this is the coffee we grew for many years and when I buy it, it connects me to the life that I lived in Kenya." (Gitonga, male, 41 years)

"I would say ... in the last may be three years, a good number of Kenyans have started selling foods you know, which are ethnic and specific to Kenya, things for example like, traditional foods, bananas would be a case to talk about and arrowroots would be another. When you are able to buy them from a shop owned by a Kenyan and they are shopped from Kenya this really is very, very powerful. I also may be use tea leaves which is one of the things that Kenya grows in plenty, I am almost insistent that Kenyan tea is what I will go for, if there is an opportunity to do so even if it means paying slightly more for it. That opportunity from that point of view is there and there has also been a proliferation of Kenyan restaurants which also means that you are able to get food prepared the Kenyan style, even when the ingredients could necessarily come from elsewhere. Kenyan men for example are obsessed with 'nyama choma', that is roast meat and I think that is something which is now generally available." (Ngugi, male, 35 years)

Although managing to buy and serve food from Kenya is termed as powerful, it is also evident that Kenyans have adapted to food in the UK as reported by participants below:

"... but when it comes to the main meals, you know, here they like sandwiches, well, you wouldn't give any Kenyan man such stuff as that, you know, you can't do it ... but now we got used to it, we are eating it for our lunch ... Yes, I mean with time you just adapt, isn't it? You get to meet other people and you adapt new things" (Ondinga, male, 36 years)

"... So I don't feel comfortable to eat the British food through and through so from time to time we mix with the African food and we feel good" (Gitonga, male, 41 years)

This reflects how Kenyans use food from Kenya and from the UK to construct their transnational identity. Furthermore during the community events observed Kenyans served food from both Kenya and the UK. This is a reflection of transnational identity. The following excerpts are from my field notes of events observed:

"Food is being set and there are varieties of dishes like; different dishes of rice, vegetable salad, chapatis [made from plain flour], chicken, sauce [commonly known as stew], samosas, mukimo [a Kenyan dish of white corn, mashed potatoes and mashed green vegetables]." (Observation 1)

"Guests were first served with Kenyan tea and drinks from the UK depending on choice. The food set up is going on at the same time and the table is laid with different varieties of foods which include: mukimo [a Kenyan dish of mashed potatoes, white corn, and green vegetables], chicken, chapatis, rice, and vegetable salad, and sauce [stew], mandazi [Kenyan doughnut] and fruit salad." (Observation 2)

It appears like food is one of the ways through which transnational identity of the migrants is constructed and nurtured. Through food, strong links are created which connects migrants to their home country while residing in the UK. For some types of food like '*Mukimo*' one of the ingredients needed and used in Kenya is white corn which is sometimes difficult to come by in the UK and as a result, participants make use of sweet corn which is readily available in the UK in order to substitute for what is lacking. It is also not uncommon to see Kenyans mixing their Kenyan commonly used bean varieties with mixed vegetables, usually sold in the UK's supermarkets. I personally do this many times when preparing meals for my family. Again this is a reflection of transnational identity.

5.3.2 *Language*

Kenyans prefer to speak their native languages for instance Swahili and Kikuyu among others when they are together because it enables them to interact. One of the important factors is that through their Kenyan language they can connect with their home country. This is because the people they are conversing with are usually familiar with the different areas of their home country that may be mentioned in the discussions, for instance when they mention given parts of Kenya, other Kenyans can relate because they know and for some have even been to the specific places mentioned. This is termed as powerful by the participants in that it connects them to their home country including friends, family and community social life in which they grew up, "*it may give you an opportunity may be to speak in your mother tongue which is very powerful*" (Ngugi, male, 35 years). Being able to speak one's mother tongue while in the UK is termed as '*bringing Kenya to the UK*'; additionally this enables participants' children born in the UK to learn the language of their parents. Having people around you who can speak your mother tongue is associated with an element of wellbeing and participants report that it is one way of '*venting out*', '*it is like a breather*'. To an extent that Kenyans report enjoying,

laughing and making jokes in their own language gives an implication of how significant it is to have the opportunity to speak their mother tongue. Language in this case like food therefore, is used by the Kenyans to construct transnational identity and to nurture it by passing it on to their children who either came to the UK when they were very young or they were born in the UK. Knowing that their children can learn their native language makes the participants happy thus enhancing their wellbeing as some expressed below:

"Well, I would say, it [being with people who speak the same language] has some element of wellbeing, it is like a breather. It gives you a vent to release your steam, when you meet, you find people probably you speak the same language, for instance Swahili and Kikuyu, your native language and you are able to interact because you speak the same language. Again you find people whom you can connect when you try to remember things ... when you are discussing Kenya, these are people who will understand, for instance when you mention a city like where I come, Nairobi, they will understand." (Gitonga, male, 41 years)

"Alright, it brings me back home, it is like bringing Kenya here because we can speak our mother tongue. We can make jokes that are common to us, and you know that brings Kenya here, it brings home here and it is always nice to see people from your place and people you can identify with. It is good for social life." (Mweni, female, 35 years)

"People who can speak your language so that you can sort of go back and laugh in your own language, so that kind of thing, it helps. The kids can interact and play around with their friends, they are happy to say I am learning this Swahili word, I am learning the other." (Atieno, female, 35 years)

Besides their attachment to native languages, participants perceive that being able to understand and communicate in English language enhances their sense of belonging. It is very clear that although English is an official language in Kenya, many of the participants face challenges when communicating with the English people. One of the major barriers cited by many of the participants is to do with differences in accents. Not knowing a foreign language is termed as frustrating and intimidating because as participants put it, '*communication means a lot in one's life*'. Despite this challenge participants are happy and feel a sense of belonging because they can speak and understand English language and this enables them to communicate with different people while in the UK. Ondinga expressed it thus when asked whether he feels a sense of belonging:

"Well, let's say for instance, the way I am speaking, English to begin with isn't a struggle, so I find I can communicate with anyone and that is very nice."(Ondinga, male, 36 years)

Atieno's challenge of accent was expressed thus:

"That was a challenge for me, having to study, in a different country. I am used to be taught by my lecturers almost using my language because their English is totally one that I would understand. I came to a country where the lecturers will speak English and it is like, hallo, is that English? It was a challenge to adapt to the system and adapt to the communication."(Atieno, female, 35 years)

While Muthoni had this to say about communicating in English language in relation to her job:

"It is like communication is everything really, if you can't communicate, I think that is the most frustrating thing in the world and especially at work. I have got patients, I have got doctors, there are so many people

that I need to communicate to, and they need to communicate to me too. If I cannot pass on information ... either because I can't understand or I cannot be understood, then I am not really able to do my job very well. You need to be able to communicate wherever you go. It is like life, communication, when you go to the shops, you go to the market, wherever you go, communication is everything, and if you are not able to communicate it can feel almost scary. It is intimidating ... It is like picking the phone is scary because when you pick the phone and you are not going to understand the person, or the person is not going to understand you, so what do you do next? Things like that are embarrassing, even though inside you know you are a confident person, but then you have a situation that is blocking that confidence, so that's what I mean, it can be quite intimidating."(Muthoni, female, 38 years)

When Kenyans are together, they use different languages and this was clearly observed during the community events as shown below:

"During this time, each speaker switches their language according to preference. The main languages used during this event were English and Kikuyu [the ill person is from the kikuyu ethnic community and therefore the majority of the people were Kikuyu] while Swahili words were heard here and there."(Observation1)

"During this meeting, a few songs were sung using both English and Kenyan ethnic languages like Kikuyu." (Observation3)

5.3.3 Cultural symbols linked to appearance

There were symbols besides food and language that were observed during the community events among the participants. Such symbols were linked to the style of dressing, and adornments. It was evident that Kenyans have adapted to some of the styles of dressing found in the UK, for instance use of very light

clothes for hot weather and very heavy clothes for winter seasons. Kenyan weather is generally warm, at times really hot. Winter temperatures like the ones in the UK are not present in Kenya; this therefore necessitates participants to adjust in order to cope with winter, this is reflected through the use of heavy clothes and what participants termed: '*use of layers*' when referring to dressing up to cope with winter. Kenyans also use items from Kenya linked to appearance, for instance the use of beaded belts by men, some of which were personalized, use of Kenyan weaved baskets by ladies, use of beaded chains and necklaces, and wood carved ornaments were evident among those attending community events. Additionally during the semi-structured interviews, a number of wall hangings linked to Kenya were observed for instance, Masaai (one of the ethnic groups in Kenya that produces quality beaded items) bead work, wood crafted wild animals, and table top Kenyan flags were evident in participants' residential houses during the field work. All these items were observed to be used hand in hand with items bought in the UK. This shows how cultural symbols are important in the construction, nurture and maintenance of transnational identity. Wandia adapts to the cold UK weather thus:

"When it is winter or it is getting cold I really have to wrap myself up so much ... I don't really like very cold weather but I have to get used to it, when I wrap up myself then I can be able to go through the winter, you have to get used to it because it is the longest period, the cold weather takes more months than summer, so you find most of the times it is cold weather that we go through, so you really have to prepare yourself for that"

(Wandia, female, 35 years)

A script from one of the events observed reflects the use of symbols linked to appearance:

"The people were dressed in different manner of dressing, some had Kenyan traditional clothes, while others had modern styles and since the

day was hot, summer styles clearly featured in the event. Additionally some ornaments linked to Kenya were evident, for instance men wearing beaded belts from Kenya and some of them were personalized, women carrying hand weaved baskets from Kenya, and use of beaded earrings and chains. It was particularly noted that in the course of the event, hand weaved baskets were used for money collection as people gave their contributions.”(Observation1)

5.4 TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY AND WELLBEING

Participants perceive that the act of providing support to their chronically ill relatives, through which they construct transnational identity, is linked to their wellbeing. In their descriptions, happiness features most which is linked to joy, comfort, satisfaction and generally feeling good. Owing to their great attachment to Christian values, this group of Kenyans view wellbeing elements in terms of being at peace with God and other people both in the family and in the wider society. These perceptions are given detailed attention in the following sections.

5.4.1 Happiness

It is important to note that Kenyans are traditionally an oral society and they value the act in verbally passing on information. Traditionally this was reflected through story telling, songs, use of riddles, and proverbs. Social norms were also passed on to the younger generation orally. This oral communication is achieved in the contemporary society through the use of modern technology especially mobile phones, which participants equate to speaking on a face to face basis. This may explain why some of the participants refer to talking and listening to their relatives as '*gold*' and '*a song*'. This level of appreciation boosts their self esteem which makes them feel as some put it, '*like a normal human being*'. Participants express that they receive '*words of blessings*' and '*prayers*' from the recipients as an appreciation for what they refer to as '*my*

involvement and my participation in her [ill relative's] life'. This is usually gathered significantly through the phone calls they make to their relatives mostly to find out about their medication and progress. Mwikali, a female nurse had this to say about this kind of happiness:

"When I call them, I ask how they are ... and by the end of the conversation, they really appreciate that call, they really appreciate what you are doing for them. That helps me to feel like a person who is well or somebody who is appreciated, somebody who is valuable in the sense that you are offering help to somebody who is appreciating it back. That makes you feel good, feel comfortable and when you feel good there is also naturally a hormone that comes out that makes you feel good - a feel good hormone that will make even the body healthy, so it is good."

"It makes me feel comfortable, you know, there is something in us as human beings, when you have done something that makes somebody feel good. They are not, you know, they have a problem probably that is chronic, but you have made it to be stable in the provision that you are providing. When you talk to them you feel that they are not in any pain, they are not in any anguish, they are comfortable, and in return you also feel comfortable." (Mwikali, female, 39 years)

In addition, during the community events observed, messages of appreciation from the relatives of the ill person were expressed to those in attendance as quoted below:

"The master of ceremony welcomes everybody and expresses gratitude to the people present on behalf of the relatives with an ill parent because of choosing to attend the event." (Observation1)

"During one of the events the family members of the ill relative were introduced one by one and given a chance to speak. They all appreciated those who had come to participate in this event and acknowledged that it was great sacrifice as they would have gone to attend to other commitments. Specifically some made reference to 'shifts' [mostly linked to agency jobs] and continue to explain that people would have chosen to go for a 'shift' but they chose to come" (observation3)

It is clear through the expressions of the participants that there are many needs usually competing with the cultural value of providing support and participants report that they are at times overwhelmed by the issue of having to make choices and to establish priority. As a result, happiness is achieved when one finally manages to provide support that is needed. Being the person that is able to afford to pay a hospital bill for a loved one when your other relatives are not in a position to do it fills one with a smile associated with this level of contribution. Wangari, a female in her 30s providing support to her mother who is diabetic explained her happiness in a dramatic way after she provided support to cater for her hospital bill; *"When I sent the money, I was coming from the western union [this refers to the sending agent office] with a big smile."* (Wangari, female, 35 years)

Participants are aware of the barriers that prevent them from physically being present to effect change on the ground every time it is needed by the ill relatives. A major barrier is distance and the cost of travelling. What this implies is that their absence from Kenya means they cannot as some put it, *'give a cuddle' 'make the ill person's bed'* or physically be there for them which makes satisfaction and peace of mind, which are factors related to happiness, of paramount importance and as participants assert, it is achieved through providing support. Gitonga puts it thus:

"It [provision of support] gives me satisfaction. Knowing that my people are well and that their health is better and they are fed properly, that gives me satisfaction. It removes sorrow from me, you know, I do not have to always think about people who are far away from me and there is nothing I can do because of the distance. When you have provided, it gives you that assurance, it gives you a lot of peace in the mind, so it is satisfying, gives me peace of mind." (Gitonga, Male, 41 years)

This makes travelling to Kenya important in enhancing migrants' wellbeing in the UK. This is highlighted through reports that physically assessing the condition of the ill relative when one has travelled allow them to validate reports received on phone and through friends and relatives who had travelled earlier. This is reported to impact on the participants' wellbeing, especially because among Kenyans sometimes ill relatives may not disclose the extent of their illness because they do not want to 'cause worry' to the rest of the family members, especially the migrants because they are far in a foreign country. Therefore to have an opportunity to evaluate the situation of their health when they have travelled is very important. Some participants travelled to facilitate better treatment for their chronically ill relatives. Wangari explained how at one time she phoned her mum who reported on the phone that she had been well but she received a message that she had been admitted in hospital a day or so later. To her, visiting serves to enhance one's assurance:

"I try to visit Kenya once a year and I like to visit because I get to actually see for instance my mum. Diabetes is just a very complex thing and I have to see for myself how she is improving health wise. For me I just feel that if I see my mum in person it really helps me to come back and settle and just be sure that she is ok." (Wangari, female, 35 years)

During one of the fundraising events, one lady (who is a nurse in the UK travelled to Kenya to facilitate the transfer of her ill mother from a rural

based hospital to a more modern one with better facilities. Her visit enabled proper diagnosis to be done and proper treatment to commence but only after her mother had suffered for being treated for the wrong illness (Observation 1)

For that lady coming back to the UK being satisfied that her mother is now getting the best treatment she could offer her was satisfying and enhances wellbeing while in the host country.

I carried out a follow up interview with Gitonga, one of the participants during the semi-structured interviews who travelled to Kenya to visit his ill father after my first interview with him. During the second interview, he allowed me access to a DVD recorded during his visit. It was all joy when family members picked him up from the airport when he arrived in Kenya and more was to come. His sisters, brothers, sisters-in-law and others from the extended family who had not travelled to the airport were eagerly waiting at home. When the car that was carrying Gitonga arrived at the gate, they all came out from the house to meet him. They joyfully hugged him and continued to rejoice through dancing and singing. I managed to get some of the words of the main song which was sung in Kikuyu their ethnic language: "*Ngoro yakwa nirakena, ngoro yakwa igatumatuma, ngoro yakwa ikaigua wega, ikaigua wega, nitondu wa muhonokia.*" This is a Christian based song implying that an individual is very happy because of God's love through Jesus. In this instance, the relatives are expressing their joy and thanks to God because of Gitonga's visit. These moments of reunion were also accompanied by the family members eating together as they updated each other about the happenings which took place when they were apart.

The family held a dinner party to mark the end of the visit during which time every member present was given a chance to comment about the visit. Messages of appreciation were repeatedly expressed by the relatives; they

especially mentioned they were very thankful for the gifts he had brought to them from the UK. Gitonga's father was quick to mention how the support which he has been receiving has been very helpful. This confirms what the semi-structured data revealed about gift provision being linked to words of appreciation. Additionally one person was appointed during that meeting to pray for Gitonga's journey and blessings during his stay in the UK, again confirming that receivers usually pray and bless the givers, which makes the latter happy.

When it was Gitonga's chance to talk, he mentioned how his visit has been very important to him. Among other things he mentioned that being able to meet his parents and especially his father and to see how he is fairing health-wise made him very happy even as he looked forward to return to the UK. He also thanked the family for the different gifts they gave him to carry to the UK (see Appendix 8 for a picture of some of those gifts).

Life in the UK is termed as very demanding by Kenyan migrants especially in terms of work, and cost of living. This usually contrasts with the life participants were used to while in Kenya where the cost of living is lower. Kenyans in the UK often joke that while in Kenya most of the letters they received through post were from people enquiring how they have been and wishing them well, in contrast to while they are in the UK, where most of the letters they receive are bills demanding payment. Some participants explain that when peace of mind is lacking (in this case as a result of not providing support), it is seen as a burden that impacts on their happiness, likened to one of their bills that has to be paid as clearly reflected in the words of Gitonga:

"Right, when I am here in the UK, it [Providing support] really fits in with my wellbeing. This is because when I provide support for my people ... it gives me peace in my mind and I tell you, there is no place which is bad like here [the UK] if you don't have peace in your mind, because the life

move faster than in Kenya and bills come everyday and if you do not have peace in your mind, then it will be like an added bill or an added problem. Therefore, when I provide support, it gives me peace in my mind. (Gitonga, male, 41 years)

An element of happiness is also reflected through a stronger bond created between the giver and the receiver. Provision of support often leads to improvements in their ill relative's conditions. This implies that at such times, a phone call can drift away from the usual talk about the illness to being a bonding together time. The ill relative will have a chance to ask how the giver is getting on in terms of their job, and family. They can have what many Kenyans term as '*wazee hukumbuka*', which is the idea of remembering past events familiar to those engaged in the talk, especially the exciting ones and having a hilarious happy time together, as some participants put it, '*laughing the Kenyan style*'. Wanjira, a female participant explains how her relationship with her father is enhanced through providing support:

"I am much happier, because like then [when support is provided and results into improved conditions], I can send him my usual jokes, I like joking a lot, and I text and send him a lot of jokes that I have often, so the relationship feels to be good when his health condition has improved." (Wanjira, female, 40 years)

Similar sentiments are echoed by Wanjugu who gets a chance to answer some general questions from her dad:

"Yes, they will ask me; how are you? How is your health? How is your daughter's health? How is the weather?, like my father is very fond of asking me about the weather and I find that question quite interesting because it seems he feels sorry for me that it might be too cold for us out here, [in the UK]. They will always ask me about our health, about

the weather and generally how we are coping with life here” (Wanjugu, female, 50 years)

5.4.2 Completeness

There is a perception that happiness leads to wellbeing which is explained as an all round fitness in terms of emotional, spiritual and physical elements. It is being whole and being complete, that is being in a state of what participants refer to as *'good health'*. This means there is absence of pain or stress and that one is of sound mind. This is the state that would enable someone to go about their daily duties without being distracted. This state according to the participants enables one to be *'productive'* *'accomplish daily activities'* and *'make sound decisions'*. Ruto, a male community leader in his 40s who provides support to his ill brother described this figuratively:

"Wellbeing is being spiritually well, your soul, your mind, your intellect, your thinking, your thoughts, your mind which controls mostly your soul is well even your flesh is well, that you have got nothing missing, nothing broken." (Ruto, male, 45 years)

Mweni, a married mother in her 30s broadens this wholeness further to include family relationships:

"To me well being is being whole and being complete. That means you are whole in your spiritual walk with Christ and you are whole in your marriage, you are whole in your physical body, you are whole in the relationship with your children. To me, that is wholeness, which is what I would say is wellbeing ... prospering in all parts of life." (Mweni, female, 35 years)

The notion of *'wholeness'* and being *'complete'* in terms of their chronically ill relatives is perceived by the participants as being able to *'operate normally in*

life’. While some acknowledged that this does not necessarily mean the absence of illness with reference to their ill relatives, the illness and any related pain should be under control, for instance, through drugs. This will then mean prolonged life as in the view of Mwikali, a female nurse and a mother in her late 30s who is providing support to her father in law:

"Well being is the essence of being normal, operating in the normal capacity ... Wellbeing is being well ... you might have the illness but it is well controlled ... may be by drugs, exercises, or by whatever means that is required to maintain the normality of a human being." (Mwikali, female, 39 years)

Closely related to the idea of completeness as explained above, is being able to access what is necessary to meet basic needs. Participants frequently mention acquisition of, *'food'* *'shelter'* and *'clothing'* and to some extent *'basic education'*. This is important for Kenyan migrants because they come from a background where there are people who survive on less than a Dollar a day and this means many people are not able to meet all their basic needs. It is in this respect that participants perceive that wellbeing can only be understood in context. This is because what one would perceive as contributors to an individual's wellbeing in the UK is different from what people in low income situations like Kenya would mention as important in order to achieve wellbeing in the Kenyan context. Additionally the meaning of wellbeing is different for different people even in Kenya due to differences in socio economic status. What this implies is that in Kenya affording basic needs like a day's meal, good health and clothing given the prevailing economic difficulties for the majority is just enough to enhance one's wellbeing. In the UK individuals may perceive other factors above this level like owning a television, a car and a decent job as basic needs. Watetu puts this clearly in her words:

"Wellbeing ... being able to afford basic things, at least they can afford a meal, they have got at least shelter, may be sometimes education you know, it [education] doesn't have to be really at that high level but at least reasonable enough that they can access information themselves, that would make a difference."

"... So it [wellbeing] is in context because wellbeing depends on where you are. The wellbeing for instance, for Kenyans ... it's like painting another picture because you know ... there is that big gap between the 'haves' who have a lot and those who 'don't have'. It worries me, it worries me because to the 'haves' wellbeing will mean something different from those who don't have like my brother in law. It will make a big difference for him to afford just basic things like, accommodation, shelter, clothing, and a meal, you know. ... so it [wellbeing] can only be understood from different perspectives and that would mean that what I would term as wellbeing here [the UK] is different from what I am trying to explain, for instance about my brother in law" (Watetu, female, 48 years)

5.4.3 *Personal freedom*

For participants in this study, it is important, for instance, that one is in a position to freely choose what to do. This implies being accorded choices, being given the chance to voluntarily do things without being coerced or controlled. It means that people are free, for instance, to choose and secure opportunities that are related to their qualifications, skills and experiences. The participants are aware that when one acquires, for instance a job that is related to their qualifications and it is what they have been yearning for, then life becomes easier. In essence, the participants perceive that being able to live the kind of life that they aspire to live is very important and some of them explained this as below:

"... because I would like to study and be more qualified ... I would like to get a better job because that is my heart's desire and it will make my life easier and it will enable me to study more and with ease because the course that I will be doing will be related to the work that I will be doing." (Koigi, male, 42 years)

"Are you living the life that you want to live? Are you able to do what you want to do? Are there things that have interrupted you and made you not do what you want to do? If you want to be happy, have you been able to be happy the way you would want to be happy? Are things going the way you would like them to go? So it's kind of what is it that have made things not be the way you would want them to be? If you cannot achieve what you want to achieve, if your life is not going the way you would want it to go then definitely you are not feeling fulfilled and you are not feeling happy. If something like a sickness crops up then definitely that is not what you would have wanted ... your health is disrupted, you would have wanted to be healthy not feeling sick ... so if you cannot live the life you want to live then you do not have wellbeing" (Wangechi, female, 41 years)

The desire to choose one's behaviour is also reflected in relation to the residential environments in which participants live. Many perceive that it is important that they are given freedom to do things as they would want to do as families in their residential homes, as reflected in the words of Gitonga:

"The British people are not very friendly, they are not friendly at all, and they are individualistic. From my perspective as an African we are a community people, you know, we meet, we chat, we eat together, we meet together, we dance, we sing, but these people here [the British] they don't like noise. When I am at home with my wife and my children, there are things we might want to do but again we fear the neighbours,

because they will call police, we would want to sing, we would want to jump up and down. Life here [in the UK] is prohibitive. This makes me miss where I came from [Kenya]. I would say that, probably I have that sense of belonging because I work well, I have got colleagues but generally, the wider community is a bit secretive” (Gitonga, male, 41 years)

Research triangulation:

Since this study uses mixed methods: survey, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, data triangulation was done using data collected from the three different methods of data collection. The findings from the survey were compared with results from the semi-structured interviews and from the participant observations. There were similarities for instance; participants mentioned similar forms of support through the different methods although through probing during the semi-structured interviews, participants reported additional forms of support than in the survey and participant observation, for instance, online grocery shopping to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya while in the UK.

Elements of transnational identity like travelling to Kenya, keeping links with relatives through the use of telephone and internet were found to be present through the data collected using the three methods. The use of language by the participants reflected transnational identity, for instance participants reported they can speak English although accent is an issue but they also prefer using their ethnic languages. During the community events observed, participants use of language linked both Kenya and the UK, for instance one speaker explained the importance of raising funds during one event to pay for a relative’s hospital bill and emphasized that while one can easily get treatment here in the UK through the National Health Service (NHS), things are different in Kenya where individuals have to forfeit their title deeds if they cannot pay

the hospital bills. This shows the use of illustrations which are transnational in nature.

Inconsistencies and tensions reflected by the findings

There were a number of inconsistencies and tensions reflected by the findings. These could partly be linked to the suggestion that respondents usually reveal more during face to face interviews, mainly through probing as opposed to when they are completing a questionnaire. Some of these tensions and inconsistencies include;

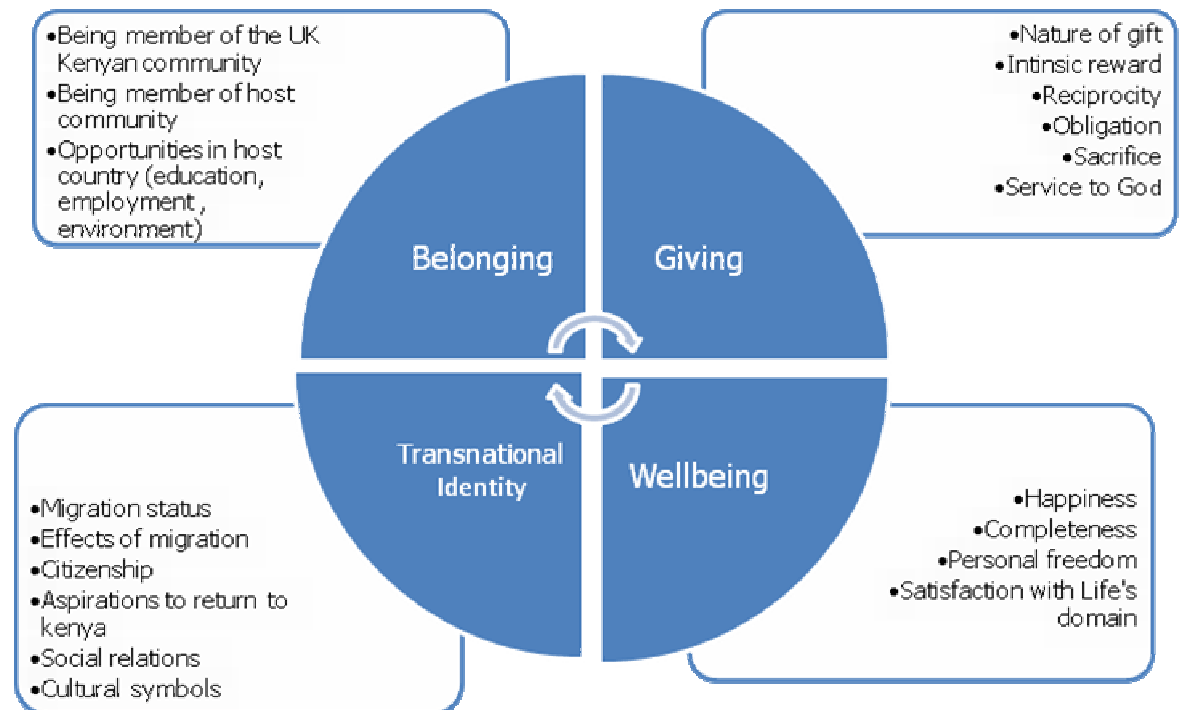
- ◆ The findings show mixed perceptions about experiences of providing support. Participants reported that providing support is a burden that involves a high level of sacrifice, but they also perceive that there is joy in giving. This joy is usually associated with gratitude from the recipients of support which is accompanied by words of blessings and prayers.
- ◆ The motivations for providing support are not straight forward. Some participants perceived that it was an obligation, as reflected by the survey while others reported it was voluntary and still others mentioned that they were reciprocating for favours done in the past. While this was probed during the semi-structured interviews, participants' perceptions revealed that elements of obligation, reciprocity and societal expectations are embedded with each other and this may explain why participants varied in their perceptions. This antagonism was also supported by literature on giving.
- ◆ Participants' sense of belonging is an indication of transnational identity. During the fieldwork, participants reported that they felt a sense of belonging in the UK to a given extent. This was mainly linked to their legal status, their understanding of English language, their participation in the community, for instance through work, and/community

involvement. Their sense of belonging in the UK however antagonized with their longing and desire to link with family and friends in Kenya insisting that Kenya is their mother country and the UK is their adopted country. This kind of tension is expected in transnational lives because migrants exhibit being 'here' and 'there' simultaneously and are happy about it.

5.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Based on the analysis, results and discussions in this chapter, a theoretical framework was formulated and constructed as shown in figure 5.1 below. This framework illustrates the themes and sub-themes developed through the analysis of findings of this study and also how each of the themes and sub-themes relate to each other. The act of provision of support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya enable migrants to maintain links with family and friends in Kenya thereby leading to construction of transnational identity through issues of: reciprocity, societal obligation, sacrifice and service to God. Additionally Kenyan migrants perceive their sense of belonging in the UK to be influenced by: being a member of the UK Kenyan community, being a member of host community, availability of opportunities in the host country like education, migration status, effects of migration, aspirations to return to Kenya, and through the use of cultural symbols. The cultural dynamics which develop as a result of these exchanges enable migrants to combine cultural values from their home country and values from their host country through which they construct transnational identity. Participants perceive that through their construction, nurture and maintenance of transnational identity, their wellbeing in the UK is enhanced.

Figure 5.1



5.6 SUMMARY

The discussion in this chapter highlights how Kenyan migrants construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity through their act of providing support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya. The nature of the support provided include: money, use of telephone, medical items, travelling to visit, and organizing prayers for the ill relatives among others. Through this participants are able to maintain links with family and friends thereby gaining intrinsic rewards through words of appreciation and blessings from their ill relatives. They also fulfil their social obligations, reciprocate for favours done in the past and perceive that they are also offering a service to God. All these elements are embedded in each other making it difficult to put a boundary among them. While participants work to reinforce their Kenyan identity, it is also clear that they adapt to some of the culture of the UK and this allows them to develop a sense of belonging in the host country.

Their sense of belonging is enhanced through meeting with other Kenyans in the UK, through gaining legal status and citizenship, through participation in the host community and also availability of opportunities like education and employment. All this enable migrants to construct transnational identity which they perceive that it enhances their wellbeing in the UK which they report as: happiness, completeness, satisfaction, personal freedom and satisfaction with life's domain. This implies that it is important for migrants to have room to practice their cultural traditions while in their host country because this increases their level of integration and makes them happy, thereby enhancing their wellbeing.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter highlights the interpretation of the findings of this study. This is done by critically considering the results of: the mapping exercise, the semi-structured interviews, and the participant observation. This is further linked to theories and relevant literature in order to answer the research questions and ultimately determine how the aims of the study have been dealt with.

Transnational identity has more often than not been investigated by scholars as an outcome (Levitt, 2001b), with some current studies (Somerville, 2008; Haller and Landolt, 2005) examining transnational identity through '*identification*', which implies as a process; usually aimed at exploring migrants' experiences and establishing how they construct transnational identity in their day to day lives. What is missing are studies aimed at critically investigating not only migrants' transnational experiences but also examining the relationship between transnational identity experiences of migrants and their subjective wellbeing in the country of residence. The current study builds on the available work on migrants' experiences and construction of transnational identity; it also goes beyond this and explores the relationship between transnational identity and subjective wellbeing of Kenyan migrants. As a result, indicators of subjective wellbeing related to transnational identity are examined, linked to literature and to available theories of wellbeing, and reported as part of this discussion.

The chapter has two main sections; the first section explores how migrants construct transnational identity through provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya. Under this section, construction of transnational identity through gift exchange is examined, followed by how transnational identity is constructed through multiple belonging; under this transnational identity

construction through social relations is dealt with, and also transnational identity construction through elements of inclusion. The last subsection investigates how migrants construct transnational identity through cultural symbols.

The second section investigates the relationship between migrants' transnational identity and their wellbeing. This is assessed by considering: transnational identity and personal satisfaction; transnational identity and personal freedom; transnational identity and satisfaction with life's domain. This chapter ends with a summary of the issues discussed.

6.1 CONCEPTUALIZING TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY OF KENYAN MIGRANTS IN THE UK

It is important to understand that maintenance of links by migrants with '*significant others*' is an important factor in construction of transnational identity. The participants in this study maintain links with family and friends in Kenya through various ways; they do this through provision of support to their chronically ill relatives. The most common forms of support that were evident from findings as reported by the participants, and through which links were maintained were: use of telephone, travelling to visit, phone text messages, sending money, online shopping, and gifts. It is through maintaining these links that social relationships develop, which migrants utilize to construct, nurture, and maintain transnational identity. Participants perceive that their transnational identity results to enhanced wellbeing.

According to Haller and Landolt (2005), the relationship between '*space*' and '*place*' has greatly changed as a result of advanced technology which implies that individuals are no longer controlled by the ability to travel in order to link up with others, be influenced by or influence others located else where. It is this level of transformation between space and place that transnational aspects of migration thrive, enabling migrants to constantly maintain links and provide

support across borders. Furthermore: *"For today's migrants, social exclusion and limited economic opportunities in host societies often dovetail with new possibilities for sustaining meaningful relationships with people and institutions in places of origin"* (Haller and Landolt, 2005, p1183). It is through this kind of context that Kenyan migrants studied here are able to provide support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya, thereby maintaining meaningful relationships with family and friends. Their day to day experiences results to transnational identity.

This study employs the use of transnational identity framework by Haller and Landolt (2005) to critically examine the construction of transnational identity among Kenyan migrants through provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya. Following this framework and the results of this study, transnational identity construction among Kenyan migrants in the UK is exhibited through:

- ◆ Gift exchange, which refers to link maintenance with family and friends in Kenya through provision of support.
- ◆ Multiple belonging
- ◆ Use of cultural symbols

These factors are examined further in detail under the following sections.

6.1.1 Transnational identity construction through gift exchange

The issue of gift exchange for the participants in this study ought to be understood through the context of the Kenyan culture. This is because the participants' perception of providing support to their chronically ill relatives is interwoven in matters that reflect their diverse relationships and the cultural expectations. The perceptions of participants show that *'giving'*, *'caring'* and *'sharing'* are woven together with *'obligations'*, and *'reciprocal'* arrangements. What this means is that one cannot put a distinction among these concepts because they blend into one another. Through the mapping exercise,

participants reported that providing support is a societal expectation with further evidence gathered through the semi-structured interviews indicating that providing support to chronically ill relatives is not only a societal expectation and obligation but also a way of reciprocating for favours given to the participants in the past, especially during their upbringing. Furthermore elements of faith also impact on the giving experiences of the participants.

According to Komter and Vollenbergh (1997) gift giving can take different forms including; '*presents*', '*food*', '*lodging*' and '*care*' and Bruck (2004) argues that a gift does not have any set out characteristics, which means that it lacks special features. For this reason, Bruck (2004) asserts that understanding the giver and the recipient and especially the relationship that exist between them is significant in understanding the meaning of gift. Sherry (1983) asserts that through exchange of gifts people are able to construct '*bonds*' and '*connections*'. Furthermore a gift is a powerful evidence of how individuals express themselves in social relationships and it is also significantly important and continuously used to confirm the strength of a relationship. Komter (2005), Williams and Robinsons (2002), echoes similar sentiments and urges that social solidarity and gift giving are viewed as closely related.

Participants report gift giving as motivated by reciprocity based on their upbringing. They express a profound feeling of debt owed and provision of support is done as a way of paying back that debt. The debt owed is widely linked to the cost incurred when they were growing up and schooling. Participants perceive however that although one can try to pay, it is not practically possible to pay in full, implying the complications of estimating the value of the cost because it is linked not only to the immediate family but also to the society. They use graphical explanations to show that one is usually given support when '*down*' which implies that one does not have the ability to meet the needs at hand, their times of upbringing are termed as periods when they were '*down*' and others lifted them '*up*'. Now that they are '*up*' and their

chronically ill relatives are '*down*' they have the responsibility to '*pay back*' and in the process '*lift them up*'. Paying back is not necessarily to the person who provided support in the first place; it can also be to others in the same society. This implies that people need the society and society needs them. This involves interdependence among the people in the society. Reciprocity in this Kenyan group is also equated to gratitude: '*a way of saying thank you*' for favours done in the past. One can assert that reciprocity is delayed; participants are reciprocating for what was done to them when they were growing up, this makes social ties among different generations in a society to be stronger which echoes Mauss's (1954) view that reciprocity in gift exchange ought to be delayed because this makes the social link of those involved to be strengthened. Immediate reciprocity may be termed as a willingness to end the relationship between the giver and the receiver. Through this level of motivation to reciprocate, participants make use of support to construct transnational identity. They are fulfilling their obligation to reciprocate in Kenya while in the UK.

It is evident that gift exchange in the Kenyan group studied is an agency of maintaining strong relationships between the participants and the recipients of the gifts. Participants and their relatives are separated by distance which threatens their social ties. Participants in this study perceive the distance between Kenya and the UK to be long and to at times cause anxiety when they think about their ill relatives but this is balanced by their ability to provide support. There are reports that provision of support fills the gap created by the absence of the participants. This echoes findings by Mysterud, Drevon and Slagsvold (2006).

Gastaldo and his colleagues (2005) assert that '*collective*' and '*individual exchanges*' in transnational perspectives should be viewed as going beyond '*remittances*'. According to scholars (Vertovec, 2004; Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Faist, 2000a; Guarnizo, 2003) migrants' identities are restructured in the

transnational social spaces in which they find themselves and transnational living comprises of relations which are both social and economic and which surpass money remittances, enabling migrants to construct, nurture and maintain social transnational identity. Else where Lindley (2009) argues that remittances are not '*just money*' and urges consideration of '*relational work*'. This is evidenced among the participants in this study. The forms of support which they provide go beyond money to include emotional and information related support among others. Additionally through the support important links are maintained, societal expectations and obligation are also met by the participants. Consequently links maintenance by the Kenyan migrants with their ill relatives in Kenya was instrumental in construction of cultural identity and these results in intrinsic rewards which to participants positively affect their lives far beyond the reports of achievement of stable conditions in relation to their relatives' illnesses. The status of the participants is elevated and they sometimes take the role of advocacy on behalf of their ill relatives and their carers, for instance in matters to do with medical consultation.

Gift exchange according to Cheal (1987) is a reflection of value placed on receivers by givers and Schwartz (1967) argues that receivers of gifts are usually different from those who do not receive implying that gift giving creates boundaries. The results of the mapping exercise, the semi-structured interviews and the observations, in this study indicate that most of the receivers of support are the immediate family members but others of the extended family receive provision of support occasionally. Besides the element of value, gift giving is a reflection of how the giver views the receiver and this means the gift places an identity on the receiver imposed by the giver (Schwartz, 1967). Furthermore according to Mauss (1954) gifts can be important both emotionally and materially. The Kenyans in this study provide material and emotional gifts to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya which is reciprocated through words of appreciation, prayers of blessings and maintenance of strong links with friends and relatives. This is very significant in ensuring reinforced cultural identity

which in this instance is transnational in nature. Elsewhere, Schwartz (1967, p1) asserts that giving is associated with identity and that a gift usually portrays pre-determined expectations which therefore implies that: *"gifts are one of the ways in which the pictures that others have of us in their minds are transmitted"* and Bruck (2004) asserts that when people accept gifts they consequently accept the identity that has been attached to it by the giver.

Through their links with the UK (Granovetter, 1983) Kenyan migrants gather information and sometimes medical items which relate to their relatives' illnesses. This is as reflected in the semi-structured interviews, participant observation and in the mapping exercise. Such information and items may be difficult and costly to afford for those in Kenya. They convey the information gathered while they converse through telephone or send informational material with friends and family members travelling to Kenya. Many participants reported that they are advocates on behalf of their ill relatives even at times when it comes to contacting their medical consultants in Kenya and this result in enhanced status of the sender. This as a result conforms to cultural ideas about intergenerational solidarity and consequently to cultural identity.

The construction of transnational identity by the Kenyan migrants in this study is realized through a great level of sacrifice as the voices of the migrants reflect. However this does not seem to be an isolated case; in his study of Ghanaian migrants residing in the West, (Dijk, 2002) expresses that migrants on many occasions are expected to send money back home to relatives on arrival in the Western countries. He further adds that while many are good in doing this, what they do not lay plain to friends and relatives back in Ghana is the kind of jobs which they have to do in order to afford the resources to remit. *'Remittances are squeezed from only very meagre savings'* (Dijk 2002, p180) but this is usually hidden by the migrants. The mapping exercise of this study reports on the major problems of support provision and there are perceptions of support provided being used for other things other than that for which it was

intended. During the interviews this view was echoed and participants explained that this happens because relatives and friends back home do not usually have an idea of what migrants have to go through in order to afford the resources. This implies they do not know the kind of jobs migrants do and the long hours they put in order to support themselves and get extra resources for remitting.

Additionally, the level of needs is usually way beyond the resources provided which echoes one of the problems of providing support in the mapping exercise as; *'providing less than required'*. Else where Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) assert that it is expected that migrants in low-income levels will find it difficult to afford international telephone calls, emails and airfares but in circumstances where these groups of migrants are facing insecurity and segregation in the host country, they will sacrifice whatever resources they have in order to maintain links with friends and relatives as a way of assuring them that in case things don't work in their host country, they will be welcome back home. The participants in this study express provision of support as *'total sacrifice'* and many have to *'play around with their budget'* which implies sometimes using their credit cards and also living basic lives while in the UK in order to afford resources to provide and maintain links and relationships.

6.1.2 *Transnational identity construction through multiple belonging*

Studies have shown that acquiring a sense of belonging is important because it enhances an individuals' wellbeing and Anant (1966, p23) asserts that sense of belonging: *'[Is] the experience of personal involvement (in a system or environment) to the extent that a person feels himself to be an indispensable and integral part of that system.'* Following this definition, Sargent, Williams, Hagerty, Lunch-Sauer, and Hoyle (2002) argue that it is important that human beings are in a position to construct, nurture and maintain interpersonal relationships that matter to them. This is because if an individual's relatedness

is disturbed or threatened, this may lead to *'biological'* *'psychological'* and *'social'* problems. In the study that Sargent and co-researchers carried out, they found that being able to construct and develop a sense of belonging acts as a buffer against depressive symptoms and in this regard concluded: *"By developing interventions that will enhance a person's sense of belonging depressive symptoms may be reduced or alleviated"* (Sargent et al., 2002, p128).

This section examines how Kenyan migrants construct transnational identity through multiple belonging; loyalty that spans borders. Among the participants, this is portrayed through: the use of different forms of social relations with significant others and the use of elements of inclusion in the host country. This enables them to develop a sense of belonging, through which they also construct transnational identity.

6.1.2.1 Constructing transnational identity through social relations

Social ties among migrants play a key role in their day to day lives and consequently in their construction of transnational identity (Levitt, 1996; Abella and Ducanes, 2008; Vertovec 2004). The participants in this study express the importance of social relations which they perceive as existing in different ways including: family relations; church and community events; relations with host community; spatial relations. From the perceptions of the participants, it is evident that the three levels of relations co-exist and their boundaries are blurred.

Family relations

Family relationships among Kenyans are very important (Sobania, 2003). This is reflected through reports by participants that one of the driving forces of providing support to their chronically ill relatives is because they are close to each other as family members. The element of sharing one's resources with

other family members is evident and participants acquired this when they were growing up. This behaviour was taught and practiced in the family and migrants have maintained it while in the UK. Members of the family are expected to help each other and be one another's keeper, making provision of support part and parcel of one's upbringing. It is an act learnt in the family when one is growing up. At one time a participant reported that her maternal grandmother came to live with her family and was supported and cared for and this experience enables her to care for her chronically ill mother. This is the foundation upon which migrants have built their act of providing support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya. Providing support enables participants to maintain links with relatives and friends in Kenya and this facilitates construction of transnational identity.

Among participants, the importance of other family members and friends residing in the UK is especially linked to support in terms of job seeking, financial assistance, accommodation and emotional support (Portes, 1998). Many participants reported that their initial experiences in the UK were difficult but because of the presence of close family members and friends who encouraged them to persevere and helped them in different ways they were able to move on to a level of stability. Through their links with family and friends, participants were able to develop a sense of belonging, thereby reinforcing their Kenyan identity and consequently constructing transnational identity.

Participants also reported that they feel they have a duty to pass on this custom to their children and others in the society. Through providing support to their ill relatives, they also involve their children with the expectation that they will also learn the importance of providing support to other family members. Such expectations are reflected through words like: *"... and also to put it in our children that, they must learn to take care of other people"*. While this is passed on during their day to day lives in the UK, it is further reinforced

through travelling to Kenya. Participants reported that they usually travel to visit their ill relatives, usually during festive seasons like Christmas. Such meetings of celebrations enable the children to meet other family members and to learn more about their Kenyan origin, and in that way reinforce their Kenyan identity. This shows how transnational identity is nurtured in this Kenyan community. Al-Ali (2002) had similar findings.

Church and other community gatherings

During the fieldwork, it was observed that Kenyan migrants are in essence religious. Many reported that they both attend and also participate in their various churches. Additionally many of these churches have Kenyans as the majority in terms of membership, which means similar language and customs, elements which participants term as powerful in enhancing a sense of belonging in their lives in the UK. The religious gatherings act as an extension of Kenya into the UK which helps to reinforce their Kenyan identity. Migrants also regularly hold community events, for instance '*harambees*' which is a form of fundraising to accomplish a community need. Among the participants, religious groups and other community events are important in providing spiritually related resources and at times material support, for instance financial contributions during '*harambees*'. These religious practices linked to Kenya are also important in enhancing a sense of belonging among migrants in the UK. One participant, also a pastor expressed how his sense of belonging in the UK is enhanced through his participation in the church. He mentioned that he has been called by God to serve all the people in the UK, implying not only Kenyans but also the host population, and this enables him to feel that he is offering a service to the host community also, an element that links him to the UK community, consequently enabling him to construct transnational identity.

In Kenya Christianity is a popular religion which blends into social and political fields, and this makes it difficult to put a boundary among these factors. This coexistence usually produces what Chinouya and O'Keefe (2005) term as

Christian hybrid. This is evident through participants' reports in the semi-structured interviews and in the participant observations that providing support is '*a service to God*'. Participants in this study perceive that providing support to their chronically ill relatives is a way of serving and being obedient to what God requires of them. It is through this kind of view that they report that a prayer is offered in the UK on behalf of their ill relatives and it will make a difference regardless of the distance. Their ill relatives also make prayers and speak words of blessings on behalf of the participants when they receive support. Participants were observed doing this during '*ngwataniro*' which is one of the events observed.

There were also reports that provision of support was a societal expectation and obligation, while still others reported it was linked to reciprocity. These findings are similar to a study by Levitt (2003, p865) who found that Cuban migrants in America used the practice of religion originating from their mother country: "*to extend the boundaries of Cuba to incorporate those who were living outside them.*" Usually migrants feel invisible in their host country, implying that they are not able to penetrate government and educational institutions to express their identity (Levitt, 2003). Through their participation in both religious and community events, participants in this Kenyan group are able to fill such gaps linked to their invisibility in the UK because through these avenues they can freely exhibit their home country identities. These further enhances the participants' level of integration and their sense of belonging and enable the migrants to be resilient after experiencing discrimination from the wider society, implying that participants are able to bounce back after negative experiences and move on with life. Participants also view religion as a source of moral compass because through it they are required to behave in given ways under given circumstances. The Kenyan participants reported that religion guided their acts of providing support which they perceive was handed down in the family by their parents, both as teachings and also practically. This implies that religious practices for migrants are not just physical display of their faith;

they also have the capability of offering alternative places of belonging, which is achieved through their religious ideas and symbols.

Additionally gatherings also act as a source of comfort in the absence of relatives with people in these gatherings becoming one's: '*mums*' '*dads*' '*brothers*' and '*sisters*' and these are equated to the relatives one left in Kenya. During these gatherings, participants report that they can openly discuss their problems with others, through this, the realization that others are going through similar or worse challenges make them feel they are not alone. This implies that gatherings act as a way of eliminating loneliness and bringing individuals to the presence of others who can back them up. This may explain why participants felt that community events usually give them a feeling of being at home in Kenya. The intention of the gatherings therefore is to make the UK feel like home and to create a sense of belonging. During the participant observations, it was noted that the speakers usually referred to the ill person as: '*mum*' '*dad*' and '*daughter*' depending on the age and gender. This enables them to connect at a deeper level with the ill relatives, which in turn enables them to connect with Kenya and consequently to reinforce their Kenyan identity. The Kenyan community events reflect collective society where one ceases to only think about themselves but also gets concerned about the needs of others as reflected by reports like: '*their problems are my problems*'.

Social relations with host community

The Kenyan migrants have extended their social relationships to the host community. Many participants have families with children in school and they are also employed. This indicates that in their day to day lives, these migrants also relate with people outside their Kenyan community. Participants also reported volunteering in the communities they reside in, which is done in different ways. Through this, they also relate with people in the host community, and they perceive that through this their sense of belonging is enhanced. Linking with

people outside the Kenyan community enable them to learn some of the lifestyles of the host population and this facilitates their UK identity.

The participants in this study therefore exhibit elements of transnational identity through being members of the host community. This is portrayed through their work environment. Many participants reported that they have acquired jobs in the UK and as a result, their work environment links them to the UK environment. Some of the jobs mentioned are teaching, nursing, and care work. Some participants reported that they have children in UK schools. This implies that they usually get into contact with other parents some of whom are from the majority culture, they also relate to the teaching and other personnel in schools that are likely to include people from different backgrounds but representing the UK environment. For instance one participant reported that her son's birthday is usually attended by his friends from school, who are a mixture of Kenyans and other nationalities. Additionally she also mentioned that her neighbours are people originally from different nationalities. Some participants perceive that their participation in the community through voluntary activities is also very significant to them because it links them to the UK environment. Participants' perception of contributing to the wider UK community which implies outside their Kenyan community group is evident in their reports, for instance, report on volunteering in the local community to join a group of locals who assist the local councillor in making community decisions.

One would argue that the social relations that the participants have with the host community are not as strong as the social relations with their Kenyan counterparts. The former is what Ryan, Sales, Tilki, and Siara (2008) refers to as '*bridging bonds*' while the latter is '*thick bonds*'. Granovetter (1983) asserts the former are '*weak ties*' and the latter '*strong ties*'. The participants in this study start with relations linked to their ethnicity and eventually establish other social links and other sources of information different from what is provided by their fellow ethnic members. This trend allows them to extend their relations to include other contacts. They refer to their endeavour to linkup with people of

different cultural backgrounds in order to learn their way of doing things with the aim that this will result to their appreciation of other peoples' culture: *"unless I learn what they do and why they do it, I will never appreciate their culture"*. The different types of social relations reported by migrants in this study are not mutually exclusive but they continue to exist side by side.

Spatial relations

Through provision of support, participants in this study expressed social relations that span boundaries. This implies that migrants use spatially dispersed networks to offer transnational care and emotional support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya. Through this support, they report experiences of happiness and satisfaction which imply subjective wellbeing. Spatial relation is realized through the use of phone calls, mobile phone text messages, and use of internet among others. Spatial relations among the participants are also reflected at times through travel not only by themselves but also of their ill relatives to the host country. The few who had managed to have their ill relatives travel to the UK, albeit temporarily, regarded this very highly. Some participants acknowledged that proper diagnosis of the specific illnesses of their relatives were only possible after such opportunities were available, with one case diagnosed with cancer in Kenya ending up having cancer ruled out after further diagnosis were carried out abroad. This further supports literature reviewed which reveals the poor level of health services currently available in Kenya. Horst (2006) had similar findings among Jamaican migrants abroad using the advanced technology of mobile phones to keep up to date with the health and wellbeing of their relatives in Jamaica.

Kenyan participants also make use of relations based on acquired knowledge. These include the knowledge about their relatives' illnesses acquired in the host country and shared with friends and family members in order to create more awareness of the illness and at times to enable the migrants to justify their suggestions of the kind of medical care needed at a given time. Participants

frequently make use of the internet and other sources to gather information related to their ill relatives' illnesses. In one of the fundraising events observed, the ill relative's daughter (who is a nurse in the UK) and her husband searched the internet for information about their mum's illness and they were not satisfied with the diagnosis and the treatment she was receiving at that time because it did not tally with their findings. They therefore organized for the daughter to travel and make arrangements while in Kenya for the mother to be transferred to a more modern hospital in order to seek proper diagnosis and treatment. Furthermore through the survey participants reported that they send medical equipments and information material related to the illnesses of their relatives, implying the use of what Abella and Ducanes (2008) term as '*knowledge networks*'. In this way knowledge acquired by migrants in the host country is used to make positive contributions in the home country.

6.1.2.2 *Constructing transnational identity through elements of inclusion*

Buonfino (2007, p6) argues: "*...In the context of modernity and globalization, the need for a sense of belonging in the local sphere may be taking on a greater sense of importance in a world of growing uncertainty*". This quote shows how important it is for individuals to be in a position where they are experiencing a sense of belonging. For migrants, sense of belonging is usually linked to the kind of environment existing in the host country.

Besides constructing transnational identity through social relations, participants also make use of elements of inclusion to reflect their identity. These are elements linked to the way the host population receives and accommodates them. Participants mentioned a number of factors related to their level of integration: participants' legal status; opportunities available in the host country; level of acceptance of participants' flexible or multiple identities.

Legal status

When participants are granted legal status in the UK, reports show that their sense of belonging is boosted. When questioned about their sense of belonging, many participants responded that they felt a sense of belonging because they have been granted indefinite leave to remain or they have gone through naturalization. In this case, sense of belonging was linked to acquiring legal status or to naturalization. Participants regularly mentioned: '*I am British*' as a way of indicating that this makes them feel a sense of belonging in the UK. Sense of belonging was also related to the length of time that one has been residing in the UK. For participants who have been in the UK for almost ten years and above, they reported that they felt a sense of belonging. This implies having been in the UK for long enabled them to have an understanding of the British culture and to have adapted to some of the ways in which they do things, which also means they may not feel as strangers like newly arrived migrants.

Participants in this study have reported on the process of acquiring legal status in the UK, which they perceive that the arrangement is not fair for migrants because they are for instance required to wait for five years before being granted leave to remain. Furthermore during this time they are not allowed to have access to public funds in terms of benefits although they may be working and paying taxes just like people in the majority population. Acquiring legal status is significant in integration of migrants (Al-Ali, Black, and Koser, 2001) and it is important to understand that the process of integration is a complicated process that is usually influenced by migrants' departure, journey, arrival and the kind of reception they experience from the host government and population. Participants perceived that the process of acquiring legal status did not contribute to enhancing their level of integration although finally acquiring indefinite leave to remain and naturalization was instrumental in improving their sense of belonging. Migration rules are termed as unfair and complicated to

understand (Hirschi, 2007) and participants' sense of belonging would be enhanced if rules were made much easier to understand.

Many participants agreed that visa processing at the British High Commission in Kenya is also difficult and costly. The rate of individuals' who are usually denied entry clearance to the UK is very high and usually any fees paid upfront is non-refundable. During the semi-structured interviews participants explained that such denials become all the more difficult because such expenses are usually family savings, which implies that the negative effect is felt widely in the whole family. However people usually keep on trying to get entry clearance even after a number of denials and when one finally receives entry clearance, the experiences of denial usually follow them to their host country and this negatively affects their sense of belonging in the UK. Participants also reported other negative experiences linked with the British High Commission in Kenya which continued to impact on their process of integration in the UK. For example, one of the participants had to leave her husband because he was denied visa to accompany her and after arriving in the UK she appealed against the decision, a process which took long before her husband was finally granted a visa. She perceived that this affected her integration process because she could not settle down in the UK in the absence of her husband as she would have done if they migrated together. There were reports that participants were scared of facing the immigration officers when they first arrived at UK airports, which they linked to their experiences when applying for entry clearance in Kenya. Such experiences echoes, Atfield, Brahmabhatt, and O'toole's (2007) findings relating to integration of refugees in the UK.

Citizenship is linked to identity and Nash (2009, p1067) asserts: "*Citizens belong to abounded and exclusive political community with a shared history and prospective future*". This line of thinking has since the formation of nation-states linked citizenship to nation-states, implying that citizenship is similar to national identity and Gustafson (2005, p8) asserts: "*Citizenship policies and*

popular understandings of citizenship in many Western countries have thus far been heavily influenced by national understandings of migration” while Tomlinson (2003, p269), argues:

“...before the era of globalization, there existed local, autonomous, distinct and well-defined, robust and culturally sustaining connections between geographical place and cultural experience. The connections constitute one’s and one’s community’s ‘cultural identity’. This identity was something people simply ‘had’ as an undisturbed existential possession, an inheritance, a benefit of traditional long dwelling, of continuity with the past. Identity then ... was not just a description of cultural belonging: it was sort of collective treasure of local communities.”

In contemporary times this view has been challenged due to emergence of processes linked to globalization. The behaviour of migrants in this study portray that today, people’s lives are more and more influenced by links produced by globalization. The behaviour of participants while in the UK impact on the lives of their family and friends in Kenya and vice versa. Their identity issues are not just determined by their residence in the UK, which implies that identity is not *‘localized’* in the current times (Haller and Landolt, 2005). This is because what one would term as *‘location’* in this case the UK is affected by behaviours of others located elsewhere, in this case Kenya. These processes put to question political attachments designed in accordance to *‘interests’* and *‘values’* of citizens within nation-state borders. Such thinking is inadequate when individuals, for instance the migrants studied here are involved in matters that cannot be explained using a nation-state view. In this study, participants’ behaviour, their level of integration, and consequently their wellbeing is influenced by happenings related to maintenance of links through provision of support, with chronically ill relatives in Kenya. It would therefore be more appropriate to talk about transnational citizenship (Abowitz and Harnise, 2006;

Buchan et al. 2009; Fraser, 2005; Held, 1995) or as Gustafson (2005) asserts, '*dual citizenship*' because their behaviours link more than one nation simultaneously.

Opportunities

Studies have shown the importance of availability of opportunities in the host country, for instance, Datta et al. (2007) proposes that this is a major coping strategy for migrants in his study. One of the ways of coping employed by the Kenyan migrants is through gaining British qualifications and this is what Datta and colleagues refer to as; '*way of dealing with low wages and to counter the deskilling*' (Datta et al. 2007, p417) in their study. Among Kenyan migrants this is well embraced and participants report taking advantage of opportunities which enable them to advance their education, a good number of the participants reported that they are currently pursuing further education in the UK. Many perceived that achieving British qualifications in a given field of study enables one to secure a better job and there by enhances one's sense of belonging. For some of the participants who are teachers and nurses, they reported how they started with low paying jobs but then enrolled in courses which enabled them to achieve better qualifications, recognized in the UK and through which they were able to secure relevant jobs. Reports from these participants show that although they did not initially feel a sense of belonging in the UK, acquiring jobs in their field of study has enhanced their sense of belonging. However some of the participants are usually hindered by the cost accrued to achieving such qualifications, which also competes with provision of support to their ill relatives. Closely related to education opportunities was securing scholarships to study. This enhances participants' sense of belonging because through this they can meet their tuition and accommodation fees. Additionally student benefits in the UK were said to contribute to the sense of belonging for the participants who were students. These included: student offers as retail shops, free health services, free library services and discounted travel charges.

Other opportunities mentioned by participants include availability of jobs and safe environments. Some of the participants highlighted the importance of possessing a job and assert: '*a job and one's legal status*' are the two major things that a migrant needs in order to start developing a sense of belonging. It is through acquiring legal status and jobs that participants are able to meet the cost of accommodation, pay accruing bills and meet other needs of the family. This in turn enables one to develop a sense of belonging in the host country. Furthermore it is through availability of jobs that provision of support to their chronically ill relatives can be assured. Participants also reported that being in the UK is more secure than being in Kenya. Some participants had very bad experiences before migrating and assert that knowing that one is safe enhances one's level of belonging. This echoes Lindley's (2009, p1325) assertion that; '*seeking safety was at the forefront of people's minds when leaving their country*' in her study on Somali refugees in London. Perceptions of safety are therefore linked to enhanced sense of belonging among the participants, a significant indicator of wellbeing.

Some participants have had opportunities linked to ownership of property. They perceive that initially their sense of belonging would have been rated on the lower half of spectrum but due to ownership of property especially buying a house in the UK, their sense of belonging has now gone to the top half of the spectrum. Property ownership is viewed as a way of linking up more with the host population, thus enhancing their UK identity. Participants rate their level of belonging using a scale format, while else where they also report that it is like a '*journey*' which they assert that it is harder in the beginning but gets better with time. Similar views were held by participants who have started their own businesses in the UK.

The level at which the host population accepts participants is linked to their sense of belonging in the host country. Participants perceived that the British

people are unfriendly and individualistic. These factors usually collide with what participants were used to while they were in Kenya. For instance while they could freely speak to people on the streets or while at a bus stop and even share their evening meal with a neighbour while in Kenya, these things were not welcome in their UK neighbourhoods where one has to get an appointment before visiting a neighbour and where some people will not respond to your greetings in the community. Participants reported that this level of resentment make their longing for Kenya to increase and in such instances, they miss the social life in Kenya, thus limiting their sense of belonging. Similar feelings were reported by participants who felt excluded when they refer to their interaction with people from the majority culture in the UK who sometimes would ask them what their nationality is. This echoes studies by scholars (Kymlicka, 1995; Raz, 1994; Taylor, 1993; Carens, 2000). Participants in this Kenyan group report that it is disheartening to them when you are faced with such a question, knowing very well they are already British citizens, having gone through the naturalization process. This implies that for the people in the majority culture, only those who look like them in terms of colour and language among other factors can be termed as nationals. This is viewed as a way of excluding migrants on the basis of difference, for instance those who come from Africa whose colour and accent may be different from the majority population in the UK. Scholars have studied issues to do with difference and inclusion in relation to migrants, Vertovec (2006) and Bond (2006) have given attention to issues of super diversity, Fraser (2003) and Stewart (2000) to politics of difference and recognition, while elements of identity markers have been explored by others (Bechhofer, McCrone, Kiely, and Stewart, 1999; Kiely, Bechhofer, Stewart, and McCrone, 2001; McCrone, Stewart, Kiely, and Bechhofer, 1998).

While in a number of ways participants expressed that they feel a sense of belonging in the UK, it is also evident that the sense of belonging they experience is not complete and this is expected because it is through this multiple allegiance and belonging that they maintain links with family and

friends in Kenya, therefore constructing transnational identity. Many participants therefore responded that they felt a sense of belonging in the UK to an extent, and that they have Kenya as their '*mother*' country and the UK as their '*adopted*' country.

Belonging and transnational identity

The findings in this study show the significance of the element of belonging reflected here through the capability of Kenyan migrants in the UK to practice cultural values from their home country and to keep links with family and friends through provision of support to their chronically ill relatives simultaneously with values or roles acquired in the host country which to them also means enhanced wellbeing. This is observable using the transnational lens which challenges scholars to think outside the nation-state box and recognize that belonging in transnational identity as demonstrated by this Kenyan group means that it is possible for migrants to live their daily lives not constrained by borders of one nation but that they can be 'here' and 'there' at the same time and be comfortable and happy about it. This implies that belonging in transnational identity is the capability of migrants to maintain a balance in their day to day lives as they incorporate elements of both their home and host countries.

Although scholars like Haller and Landolt (2005) among others have studied transnational identity formation among migrants, less work has been done on how migrants' identity is linked to their wellbeing. The findings in this study attempts to fill this gap by showing that migrants' construction of transnational identity through their attachments to both home and host countries, enable them to experience enhanced wellbeing reflected through for instance, personal life satisfaction and personal freedom.

6.1.3 *Transnational identity construction through cultural symbols*

Many migrants make use of cultural symbols to emphasize their identity. Cultural symbols are important in formation, nurturing and construction of migrants' transnational identity. The cultural symbols that were reported in this study include; language, food and elements linked to appearance, like attire, ornaments, among others. These symbols are discussed in depth below.

6.1.3.1 *Language*

Having knowledge of the language of the host country is described by the participants as very important because it enables them to communicate with the people in the majority culture. For instance it is important in facilitating their day to day lives in relation to jobs and schools, among others. Participants view their knowledge of English as one way that make them similar or closely linked to the host population as one participant asserts: *'Let's say for instance, the way I am speaking English to begin with, English isn't a struggle, so I find I can communicate with anyone and that is very nice'*. Knowledge of English language is used to construct transnational identity; it is a way of participants linking their Kenyan identity with the UK identity which make them feel good. Datta et al. (2007, p408) asserts; *"Many migrant groups [in the UK] experience difficulties communicating in English, suffer from a lack of skills and low qualification levels which also result in occupational inequality."* For the participants in this study, it is apparent that it is not just the mere knowledge of the language spoken in the host country but also using the correct accent. Most of the participants can understand and speak English because of the British colonial history links with Kenya; it is also both the official language and the one used in learning institutions in Kenya. However as Bosire (2006) argues, although Kenya had a long contact with the British English during the colonial period, the English spoken in Kenya is distinct from the British English due to local and ethnic influences. What worried many of the participants when they first arrived in the UK was the accent used by the majority population which

was different from what Kenyans were used to. Participants who came as students reported that it took them some time to understand what the lecturers were teaching. Those who came as teachers and nurses reported it was initially difficult because their accent was termed as '*heavy*' and '*thick*' which made communication at work difficult for them. To these participants therefore, understanding the accent of the host country is important because their jobs are dependent on their ability to communicate through the correct pronunciation. While the initial experience made many of the participants not to feel a sense of belonging in the UK, Kenyan migrants report that they often put effort to understand the English language spoken in the UK, especially achieving the correct pronunciation. Improving their language skills opens doors for them to enlarge their contacts outside the members of the Kenyan community which consequently enhances their sense of belonging. In this way, language acts as one of the ways that the participants construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity through becoming multi-lingual. They adapt to the English language in the UK while still keeping to their different ethnic languages.

While Kenyan migrants admit that being able to understand and communicate in English is very important, negative elements and experiences resulting from not achieving the accent of the host country appear to be balanced by their desire and availability of opportunities to communicate in their home languages whenever they are together and this facilitates their lives in the UK, it enhances their sense of belonging. The results of this study show that this happens often during gatherings like: weddings; '*harambees*'; church gatherings, among others. Every opportunity is therefore seized by the participants during those meetings to discuss issues that relate both to Kenya and to the UK using a language that others around them can understand and participants reported that in such meetings, '*it is where sanity comes back*', implying wellbeing elements derived from such meetings. The participants use this to reinforce their Kenyan identity and McGregor (2004) advices on the importance of

exploring widely the different resources people have at their exposure and on which as he puts it; *'they focus to maintain resilience'* (McGregor, 2004, p348). The Kenyan migrants in this study are making use of their ethnic language to *'maintain their resilience'*. This implies that they are able to spring back from any negative effects originating from their experiences with the host country. This is well reflected by expressions like; *'It is like being in Kenya for a while'* and *'it is a breather'* in reference to meeting other Kenyans and having the opportunity to speak the ethnic language.

Kenyans often make use of code switching. This was observed during the community events observed and also during the survey and semi-structured interviews. The people who participated in the events observed, usually used languages interchangeably and often they would enquire whether there is someone who cannot understand the language they wish to switch to in order to make everyone feel welcomed. The songs sang for instance during the *'ngwataniro'* were in different languages, with English and Kiswahili (Kenya's national language) being the major ones. This is an indication of how Kenyans construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity through language use while in the UK.

6.1.3.2 Food

The participants reported that accessing food items from Kenya while in the UK is *'powerful'*. Food from Kenya links them to Kenya and to their upbringing. It is a sign of familiarity which makes them feel Kenyan. This food is also good for their body system because they have used it long enough. This implies great connection to Kenya and therefore their Kenyan identity. It shows the power of food to provide them with strong attachments to their roots. Although there were reports that Kenyan food items in the UK were costly, participants insisted that they would always go for these items whenever there was an opportunity to do so since the use of Kenyan food enhances participants' sense of belonging in the UK. It is evident that there is a longing among Kenyans in the UK to have

the opportunity to go to Kenya and enjoy food in what they term as '*the Kenyan way*'. This implies having the opportunity to gather together as family members and eating while socializing. This according to the participants makes the food to taste better while at the same time strengthening the bond among family members. This level of longing is balanced by organizing community events in the UK based on socializing and eating together. Such events which are usually held in open grounds during summer time bring many Kenyans together and they bring different types of Kenyan foods like: '*nyama choma*' '*mukimo*' '*chapati*' and '*ugali*'.

During their time of residence in the UK, participants have also adapted to using British food. This was evident through reports that they make use of both Kenyan and British food at home. One example that was given was the use of sandwich for lunch which has been adapted by students and those working. This reinforces their link with the UK, therefore their UK identity. During the participant observations, food served reflected both Kenya and the UK.

The importance of food among the participants in this study is evident as a vehicle through which they construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity. The use of food is not only to reinforce their Kenyan identity but also their identity linked to the UK.

The use of cultural symbols, for instance food and language enable the participants to display their British element of transnational identity. Many participants reported that they have adapted the use of food items from the UK, for instance, sandwich, UK beverages and British breakfast. They also use British language which is necessary at work places, when dealing with personnel in their children's school and other contacts which they may have with the majority culture. Additionally the style of dressing is said to have changed to reflect the weather seasons in the UK especially winter which contrasts with the tropical weather the participants were used to in Kenya.

6.1.3.3 *Symbols linked to appearance*

Besides food and language, there are cultural symbols associated with attire, decorations and fashions linked to Kenya and the UK used by Kenyan migrants to construct transnational identity. Kenyan migrants have adapted to some of the styles of clothes found in the UK as was observed during the community events. Participants came dressed in different attires, and one would tell that their manner of dressing reflected both their Kenyan origin and their life in the UK. For instance, some ladies wore light tops and jeans (these would be more linked with the UK than with Kenya, although things are changing even in Kenya due to the effect of globalization) and then carry a hand weaved basket from Kenya. In the semi-structured interviews participants reported how they dress to cope with the different seasons in the UK especially winter which they are not used to, which implies how they have adjusted their lives in order to fit in with the weather conditions prevalent in the UK.

Although Kenya does not have a national costume representing all the ethnic groups, the Masaai, one of the ethnic groups in Kenya have tried to keep to their traditions despite the influence of globalization. Their unique way of dressing is evident and sometimes acts as a tourist attraction element. Kenyans from other ethnic groups usually adapt this way of dressing which links them to Kenya; this was observed during the community events where some of the participants came dressed like Masaai. Another prevalent attire used during the events was embossed Kenyan T-shirts, usually depicting Kenyan flag and mostly with words like; '*najivunia kuwa mkenya*' which means '*proudly Kenyan*' which implies that one is proud to be a Kenyan. Participants were also seen wearing Kenyan made necklaces, earrings, armbands, beaded belts. They also used Kenyan made key holders, and ladies were seen carrying weaved baskets from Kenya; such baskets were also used in the event to put in the contributions from the participants before the counting was done.

Additionally for participants interviewed in their residential places, it was observed that many used beaded wall hangings from Kenya, table top Kenyan flags, and wood carved wild animals among others as decorations in their houses. These were used side by side with decorations linked to the UK, for instance, table top UK flags, UK made calendars among others and through these participants exhibit their identity which one would interpret as transnational in nature because it transcends the boundaries of a single nation. This echoes Somerville's (2008) study where the migrants studied expressed appearances linked to more than one nation.

The use of mixed cultural symbols of language, food and elements linked to appearance which originates both from Kenya and the UK by the participants in this study shows how this Kenyan group makes use of cultural symbols to construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity.

6.2 THE IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY ON SUBJECTIVE WELLBEING OF KENYAN MIGRANTS IN THE UK

According to Robins (2006) contemporary migrants differ from earlier migrants in that while the latter were keen to seek '*accommodation*' and '*recognition*' the former do not seek this within the borders of their host country. They major in '*links*', '*identities*' and '*loyalties*' that extend to more than one locality, thus pursuing '*multiple connections*'. The Kenyan migrants in this study pursue multiple connections through their provision of support and maintenance of links with family and friends in Kenya. Therefore, they do not seek recognition totally within their country of settlement, for their recognition is spread across borders and it is linked to both Kenya and the UK. Robins (2006, p39) further argues:

"What these migrants put a premium on is cultural mobility, the capacity to move across cultural frontiers, both literary and in terms of

identifications and attachments ... What these new migrants are bringing into existence, then, are cultural dynamics that exceed the capacities of the nation state."

This implies that earlier migrants sought accommodation and recognition in the host country and this can partly be explained by the systems which were prevailing at that time. These migrants for instance had limited ways of keeping links with their family and friends in the home country. They did not therefore have many alternatives other than assimilate in the host country. This is however different with current migrants whose level of cultural mobility is high. They are able to maintain links with the home country on a daily basis, even to visit through regular travel. These migrants cannot therefore be contained within a single nation-state. They are happy to be identified with more than one nation because this is who they actually are. These cultural dynamics act as resources which migrants use in their day to day lives in order to construct their identity, which is transnational in nature and which consequently enhances their wellbeing.

In an effort to establish indicators of wellbeing, Marks and co-researchers (2004) assert that studies on societies' wellbeing have often focused on the levels of income. Such views often fail to establish that beyond a given level, peoples' income no longer contribute to increased levels of happiness. These authors therefore aim to shift attention from indicators linking financial elements to wellbeing and assert the importance of government policies to put emphasis on considering societies' wellbeing from people's point of view besides elements associated with their income. Through their study, individuals' wellbeing can be examined through: life satisfaction; curiosity and personal development which is linked to '*resilience*' implying how well one can deal with difficulties in life; social wellbeing, which deals with an individual's satisfaction with other areas of life, meaning how satisfied individuals are with their social relationships and elements related to their environment. This study makes use

of Marks et al.'s (2004) framework of wellbeing in order to critically examine the relationship between transnational identity of Kenyan migrants and their wellbeing in the UK. In making use of this framework, the earlier discussions in this chapter and the results of this study, I argue that the construction, nurture and maintenance of transnational identity among Kenyan migrants in the UK through provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya generate wellbeing which the participants perceive to be prevalent through the following indicators:

- ◆ Life satisfaction, which implies; elements of happiness, comfort, joy and Personal development
- ◆ Personal freedom
- ◆ Satisfaction with life's domain of: family, friends, and living environment. This implies satisfaction linked to individuals' social relationships.

These factors are given detailed discussion under the following sections.

6.2.1 *Transnational identity and personal life satisfaction*

Many participants in this study reported that they feel '*happy*', they have '*joy*', and are '*comfortable*' when they provide support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya, implying that they achieve wellbeing as a product of transnational identity. This happens when ill relatives appreciate the participants' support through words of blessing and prayers offered on behalf of the participants. The verbal appreciation, usually conveyed through telephone make participants feel valued and produces what participants term as: '*feel good hormone*'. The happiness and comfort of ill relatives is equated to the happiness and comfort of the participants. This enables the participants to have a feeling of accomplishment. Good reports from ill relatives are linked to participants' happiness because it is an indication that they are not failing in their responsibility. It eliminates fear and guilt which would result if they do not take care of their ill relatives. This level of happiness, joy and fulfilment lead to

empowerment of participants, acts like a source of energy enabling them to carry on providing. It is a way of rewarding their efforts and when one's efforts are rewarded, one feels the need to carry on with the act that produced the reward. Participants' report that their immediate reaction after providing support is having: '*a big smile*'. Dilnot (1993) argues that gift giving is equivalent to being more generous to one's self, for it is a gesture that makes one to '*feel good*' and have what Dilnot calls '*double joy*'. The participants in this study express '*double joy*' when they report that they are usually happy after providing support and even more happy when their ill relatives receive the support and express gratitude, sometimes through words of blessings and prayers made on their behalf. This makes the givers to desire to acquire more resources in order to provide more to their ill relatives. When a gift is exchanged, the receiver develops joy because of the gift and the receiver's joy makes the giver joyful. This is what enables many people to in turn put more effort in order to acquire more good gifts for people in their relationship circles. This shows how important it is in the life of participants to afford resources for support to their ill relatives because this produces happiness and joy that leads to enhanced wellbeing.

Reports of self-esteem linked to provision of support are evident in this study, this is one of the indicators of subjective wellbeing and it is linked to individuals' acceptance levels and perceptions of being valued (Knowles, Lucas, Molden, Gardner, and Dean, 2009; Maslow, 1943). For the Kenyan group studied, provision of support is accompanied by perceptions of '*being valued*' by the recipients and as is evident in the results of the semi-structured interviews, this enhances participants' wellbeing in the UK. Additionally the survey reports show that one of the reasons participants provide support is because they acquire self-esteem as a result. In what they refer to as '*sociometer theory*' Leary (2005), Baumeister (2003), Leary and Baumeister (2000) assert that a variation in one's self esteem is a good indicator of the level of either acceptance or rejection by others. The ill relatives' feedback to the participants after receiving

support which is usually linked to gratitude and interpreted as placing value to the participants reaffirms the latter's self esteem and through this any experiences of discrimination in the host country are neutralized, and this results to enhanced wellbeing.

Happiness is also derived from the knowledge that support provision means a positive change in the ill relative's lives. This is treasured both by the participants and their ill relatives because they are aware of the inadequacy associated with medical services in Kenya. Additionally social relationships are strengthened especially between the participants and their '*significant others*' not only in Kenya but also in the UK. Strong social relationships are an indication of enhanced wellbeing. Some participants equate their happiness derived from their transnational identity to '*running a business*' which means that when everything is running well, one is happy and vice versa. When one provides support the result is happiness, an indication that things are running smoothly, the ill relatives' needs have been catered for. Through this participants acquire peace of mind, an element of wellbeing that is termed as very important. When participants consider life in the UK, they perceive their financial needs and bills to be threatening. When ill relatives are not cared for, which is the case for instance, when support is not given, participants perceive that this acts like; '*an added bill*' to them which negatively affects one's peace of mind. This '*bill*' is however paid through provision of support and this enhances the wellbeing of the participants by restoring peace of mind, an element of wellbeing. Lyubomirsky, King and Diener (2005, p803) assert: "... *That happy people are likely to acquire favourable life circumstances*". One would then assert that when participants in this study perceive they are happy as a result of providing support, this results to favourable circumstances which consequently imply enhanced wellbeing.

Other elements of personal satisfaction that one experiences through provision of support are having peace with God and with men. This is linked to the

perception that: *'provision of support is a service to God'*, which implies that when participants provide support they have acted in obedience to God and have consequently met the societal expectations. Participants also report that having peace which is part of their wellbeing also comes as a result of obeying the law while in the UK. They therefore endeavour to be law abiding citizens in the UK as a way of acquiring personal satisfaction and thereby enhancing their wellbeing.

Participants in this study refer to wellbeing as completeness. It is an all round fitness involving: emotional, spiritual and physical elements. Being in wellbeing is being healthy, the ability to make the right choices in life which is based on sound mind. Some participants used graphical explanation and perceive one's wellbeing thus: *'having nothing broken, nothing missing'*. One would say that participants here are viewing wellbeing as a puzzle with all its parts fitted in, if one of the pieces in a puzzle is missing then there is no completeness, when applied to wellbeing participants report that one ought to be well physically, mentally and spiritually and this is what Kenyans perceive to achieve when they provide support to their chronically ill relatives. These elements are linked to one's wellbeing as supported by literature (Lyubomirsky King and Diener, 2005; Diener and Seligman, 2002).

In terms of participants' personal development, provision of support enables the giver to be occupied in life. This means provision of support enhances one's peace of mind, an element of wellbeing which is perceived as the drive which enables participants to work harder and to be able to put more hours at work. If they are not well, and are stressed, then this means they would not be able to work for instance they may request not to work for a few days or they may not be in a position to take up overtime hours, which they report is important in enabling them to meet their financial demands. This would in turn mean more limits to their wellbeing. Wellbeing also means having goals in life and being in a position to pursue them. This enables one to view the future positively and to

be focused in life and this facilitates achievement of one's set goals. Participants report that having the determination of a positive future even when the present circumstances may not be pleasant is one way of enhancing their wellbeing. This implies perceptions of being optimistic in life.

Although providing support is associated with a level of sacrifice on the side of participants, the level of happiness that one achieves neutralizes the negative effects. Participants perceive that neglecting their ill relatives would haunt them with guilt feelings, an element that would limit one's wellbeing. It is therefore viewed as a better option to provide to someone in need.

6.2.2 *Transnational identity and personal freedom*

Participants in this study perceive the element of personal freedom to be an important feature of their wellbeing. Kasser (2002) assert that freedom of choosing behaviour freely is a '*psychological*' element which results to improved wellbeing. Ryan and Brown (2004) argue that the term freedom needs to be understood in how it relates to autonomy, and according to these authors' definition: "*autonomy is the experience of volition, ownership and initiative in one's own behaviour, facilitated when people are not coercively or seductively controlled and when choices are afforded where possible*"(p73). This is echoed by Smith (2005) who argues that people living in communities where their contributions are valued and are capable of following their interests (as long as these interests cause no harm to others in the society) have been found to be happier than those who don't. To the Kenyan participants, personal freedom implies having the freedom to choose their behaviour. They report that the system in the UK is restrictive and denies them freedom to do things as they would do in Kenya. They reveal their feelings when this need is not met. This is usually reflected among other things in terms of their residential environments where they feel their children cannot go out and play freely without supervision and they are not free to; '*sing, dance, and shout*' as they would want while in their own residential places. Many participants revealed that they would love to

do this because this would make them feel happy and to have a sense of belonging in the community but they fear that this would provoke neighbours to alert the police. This makes life prohibitive for the participants and results to individuals missing their home country which limits their wellbeing while in the UK. Lack of personal freedom is also linked to the UK population being termed as unfriendly and individualistic, which creates a feeling of being disconnected consequently limiting one's sense of belonging. Participants report that in Kenya life is different because people usually speak to each other freely on the streets. When Kenyans try to do that in the UK they perceive that they are usually faced with resentment and this creates a block that hinders them to penetrate and acquire knowledge about the English people which would be instrumental in constructing a sense of belonging and wellbeing. This is similar to what Wright (2007, p10) refers to as '*loss of freedom of self-expression*' when studying migrants from Peru residing in the UK and Madrid.

Participants however appreciate that they can gather together in diverse ways and create environments conducive to fulfil this need, where they can recreate what they term as '*a little Kenya*' in the UK as many reported. Many appreciate that there is freedom of assembly and of worship in the UK, since through this their wellbeing is usually enhanced. Through these meetings participants experience personal freedom because they can choose to dance, shout and speak their language which enhances their sense of belonging and consequently their wellbeing. They have freedom to socialize and to share their memories of Kenya while at the same time their children get opportunities to learn their ethnic language and their Kenyan customs. However as many of the participants acknowledge, this is further constrained by the nature of their jobs which require them to work long hours in order to pay their bills and meet other needs. This leaves very little time to socialize as they would want to or as many perceived, '*as we would do in Kenya*', where the cost of living is lower than in the UK, enabling many to have time to socialize as it is in their custom.

Safe environments in the UK also contribute to participants' personal freedom. This is because they can walk around without fear of being attacked, sometimes even at night. This implies they can choose where to go and when to go and this enhances their wellbeing. This contradicts their experiences in Kenya where issues of safety and security were lacking due to political instability and poor economic situations. Personal freedom is also linked to one's freedom from illness as this will enable one to be free to go out and accomplish goals in life, be able to work well in their jobs because their bodies are not hurting. This is important for the participants in this study whose financial situation is dependent of the number of hours they work; this implies if their physical wellbeing is not good, this would be detrimental to their income levels and also to their mental wellbeing because they will not be in a position to meet life's financial demands. During the semi-structured interviews participants report that they are happy and thankful to God for their health because it enables them to work and thereby acquire the resources needed for provision of support.

Participants also link personal freedom to having freedom of choice in relation to job and career. For participants who were already in jobs and pursuing careers of their choice, they reported that this enhances their wellbeing. There are however those who perceived that this choice is curtailed by high cost of course related fees and also lack of recognition of qualifications acquired outside of the UK. This meant that individuals were forced to take up jobs which were not related to their profession and which were therefore associated with not only poor pay but also long hours. Datta et al. (2007) termed this as '*deskilling*' while studying migrants in London. Additionally, participants acknowledge that freedom to own property increases their sense of belonging and hence their wellbeing. Investing in property especially buying a house links participants to the host population and this reflects a level of acceptance and integration which is linked to one's wellbeing.

Personal freedom is therefore an important element of the Kenyan migrants' wellbeing. This indicates that policies relating to integration of migrants need to explore how personal freedom can be addressed. Creating environments that will enable migrants to pursue cultural values that matter to them would result in enhancing their wellbeing and this would also be an advantage to the host community.

6.2.3 *Transnational identity and satisfaction with life's domain*

This section deals with areas beyond the individual to include perceptions of wellbeing linked to one's relationship with '*significant others*'. Marks et al. (2004) refers to this as social wellbeing. There are suggestions that maintenance of social relations is linked to wellbeing according to Marks and Shah (2009) who further assert that the way people perceive life and the '*activities*' and '*friendships*' which they embrace is responsible for up to 40 percent of their wellbeing. Furthermore Fisher and Yarwood (2008, p110) assert: "*Changing lives for the better ... [means] connecting and supporting one another ...*" This echoes other studies on satisfaction with life's domain by other scholars (Aked, Marks, Cordon, and Thomson, 2008; Mead, 1934; Kitayama and Markus, 2000; Shweder, 1990).

Social relations call for individuals' involvement because they do not naturally unfold. Provision of support in this study enables construction of social relationships by participants usually evidenced through their relationship with other family members and their participation in community gatherings, their fundraising events, and social events. Participants reported that these events play a great role in their lives and for many, it is through family and friends from Kenya whom they met in the UK when they first arrived that enabled them to settle down or to get a bearing in a foreign country. The wellbeing of the participants during their initial years in the UK is perceived to have been dependent on the social relations they were able to establish with family

members and friends residing in the UK. This was reported to be so in relation to for instance sharing accommodation, financial support, help with acquiring jobs and providing links to other Kenyans living in the UK. Having the opportunity to meet with other Kenyans and to speak a common language is referred to by participants as powerful, with many terming these moments thus: *'it is a breather', 'that is where sanity comes back'*. This implies how social relations contribute to the wellbeing of the participants in the host country. It is in view of this that Kenyans invest time to build and maintain constructive social relationships because the benefits in terms of wellbeing are evident. Kenyan migrants are generally religious and the impact of their faith through religious gatherings like Sunday worship services, *'Ngwataniro'*, also called fellowship and through receiving words of blessings and prayers from ill relatives who receive their support is evident. Involvement in religious groups enables one to gain access to spiritual empowerment which is viewed as inner strength or resilience and which enables individuals to carry on with their goals in life which is an aspect of wellbeing. Through this participants are able to make sense or attach meaning to their behaviour (Harris, 2002).

Participants portray levels of trust towards other members of the community as evidenced by the belief that other people can be of help, for instance, through a *'harambee'* or *'ngwataniro'*. Marks et al. (2004) assert that having trust in other people is an element of wellbeing. When participants call on others in times of need, this implies trust, an element that is linked to wellbeing. Additionally, positively associating with those in need, as reflected when individuals participate in *'harambees'* and *'ngwataniro'*, is interpreted as positive. This positive attitude among participants is enhanced by the knowledge that while today it is a given individual who is in need, tomorrow it will be a different person and also the perception that when one person has a problem, it also affects others in the society.

Volunteering is usually linked to positively contributing to society and it is linked to one's social wellbeing. Participants report high levels of providing voluntary services, first among themselves and also to the host population. Many reported that this enhances their wellbeing. Some mentioned it is their joy to put a smile on another person's face, which is usually done by the participants in various ways like: offering to transport the elderly to and from Sunday service and being in a voluntary group that looks into issues affecting the local community. During the events observed, participants volunteered to be members of the steering committee, women volunteered to prepare food items to feed the participants in the events, while everyone in attendance voluntarily contributed their resources mostly in monetary form. People did this without any level of coercion and by observation, they did it joyfully. Those who coordinated the events including the master of ceremony occasionally made jokes familiar to the audience which would make them laugh. The voluntary element during these events was evident and those participating reported they were happy about what they had committed themselves to do.

It is evident in this study that it is not only personal life satisfaction and freedom that relates to participants' wellbeing. Satisfaction with life's domain is equally important. Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder (2001, p1) advocate for what they term as:

"Interactional model for understanding psychological outcomes for immigration, ... [this implies that] the interrelationship of ethnic and national identity and their role in the psychological wellbeing of immigrants can best be understood as an interaction between the attitudes and characteristics of immigrants and the responses of the receiving society. This interaction is moderated by the particular circumstances of the immigrant group."

This implies that changes in migrants' cultural identity, as a result of mixing with the host population, which Berry (1997) terms '*acculturation*' does not just happen; rather its direction which determines migrants' psychological wellbeing in the host country is linked to an interaction of a number of factors. The attitudes and behaviours of migrants and also the reaction of the host country towards migrants, including the environments in which they find themselves in are just some of the issues involved. This is particularly important for the Kenyan migrants because they report for instance their desire to integrate in the community but also report that people from the majority population are not friendly for instance in terms of being neighbours in the residential areas, this unwelcoming attitude may then act as a barrier towards migrants' effort to integrate. Additionally, their desire to secure jobs is sometimes hindered when they are denied jobs equivalent to their qualifications as a result of these qualifications not being recognized in the UK. This may negatively impact on their sense of belonging and consequently on their psychological wellbeing. Additionally, migrants usually live under conditions of uncertainty, usually produced by the circumstances which surround their departure, journey, arrival and their residence in the host country. This is evident among the participants in this study who left their home country due to political and economic instability. Participants reported about the horror that befell them having to be on a flight for the first time in their lives to a foreign land far from relatives and friends. For these migrants it is important that they develop satisfaction in different areas of their lives because this will enhance their wellbeing.

A reflective account of my outsider/insider position

My being an insider was a significant factor for this study. This is because it was easier for me to access the participants than if I was a stranger. I was also familiar with the culture of the participating group and this implies that I did not need to first learn some basic cultural aspects of the group to enable me to mingle and study transnational identity. Furthermore my age is similar to that of some of the participants in this study and because I also participate in

provision of support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya, then I represented and related to what I was studying. This helped to facilitate the process of this study.

However, being an insider can lead to strains in research, for instance, some times it was difficult to set boundaries between being a member of the group and a researcher. In such cases the tendency to take some things for granted can be high. Being a community leader can also mean that participants will give you the information they think you want to hear from them which may jeopardise the study.

It was therefore important for me to balance this insider/outsider perspective during the study. I did this by constantly discussing my findings and discussions reports with my supervisors and other colleagues. This helped me to get feedback from others who are outside the participating group. Additionally, I also compared my findings with findings of related studies and this helped me to verify the findings and to avoid being biased. I had the opportunity of having the participants read the report of findings and their confirmation that they relate to the findings of this study was also assuring to me as a researcher and was significant in verifying the findings.

Lessons learnt through this research

During the course of this study, I acquired a deeper knowledge related to migrants and issues of identity. Although I have been a migrant for a decade, I had not given careful consideration to transnational identity elements. I would say that I have always been 'in it' and 'for it' but without knowing that 'this is it'. This study made me aware that some of my behaviours which I had always taken for granted, for instance, keeping links with family and friends in Kenya are actually linked to my identity which is transnational in nature. Additionally, knowing that my transnational identity enables me to experience an enhanced wellbeing was eye opening.

It was interesting to learn that there was no one way motivation for providing support to chronically ill relatives. The perceptions mentioned by participants: societal expectation, obligation, reciprocity and altruism are all linked to cultural values and embedded to each other, making it difficult to put a boundary among them. During this study this tension was reflected by the participants in their perceptions and probing during the semi-structured interviews was significant in making it clearer that all these motivations for providing support are inter-linked.

6.3 SUMMARY

The discussions in this chapter show that Kenyan migrants in the UK use the act of providing support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya to construct transnational identity and thereby make meaning of their lives in the host country. Through their reports, this is perceived to result to enhanced wellbeing which they enjoy in the host country.

Somerville (2008) asserts the importance of focusing on '*process of identification*' rather than '*identity outcomes*' while studying migrants' identities. The former allows one to study how migrants express identity in their day to day lives and the subsequent meanings they attach to it while the latter loses this significant exploration in migrants' studies. The transnational identity of Kenyan migrants in this study is explored through the process of identification, which implies examining how they construct identity through their day to day behaviours. Provision of support to their chronically ill relatives, the motivation for doing it and the meaning they attach to it is studied in order to establish how they construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity. Transnational identities are usually flexible and keep on shifting. Identities among them are usually re-constructed in situations involving more than one nation, in this case Kenya and the UK. The Kenyan participants in this study reflected fluidity and flexibility in their construction of transnational identity, expressed among other things through their perceptions of recreating '*a little*

Kenya' in the UK, *'it feels like being in Kenya for five hours'*. This echoes a study by Yeoh, Willis, and Fakhri (2003). Many of the participants perceive their sense of belonging in the UK as not fully acquired, implying that although they left Kenya they have not yet arrived in the UK in terms of fully belonging. Their identity is exhibited as a process which echoes Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2007, p101) that; *'migrants display the process of becoming someone rather than being someone'*. The participants exhibit dynamics of identity issues, and are always busy using transnational *'social fields'* to combine their cultural values with the culture in their host country to construct transnational identity. These migrants are not seeking to be recognized totally as nationals of a single nation, their behaviours can only be explained using identity elements that combines both Kenya and the UK, the reason why their identity depicts high levels of fluidity.

For the Kenyan participants presented in this study, the question of identity may not have been an issue before they migrated, because as Hall (1996b), Mercer (2000) and Nowicka (2006) argue; identity only become an issue when it is in crisis, implying that individuals usually think about identity issues only when made to be in doubt of where they belong. The identity of participants is now being reconstructed in order to reflect cultural values related to both their origins and their current settlement. They therefore reflect what Yeoh et al. (2003) refer to as *'shifting identities'* while Grim-Feinberg (2007) calls it *'code switching'* which are expressed depending on the situation that individuals find themselves in. When migrants in this study consider their formative years which were generally spent in Kenya and which continue to impact on their lives, they identify themselves with Kenya. However they cannot lose sight of their current residence in the host country which is important in terms of jobs, education and empowerment and under such circumstances, they identify themselves as British. When participants are with other Kenyans for instance during community gatherings and other social events, they perceive that they feel more Kenyan, while contacts with the host population for instance at work or at

school for those who are students make them feel British. This implies that the identity portrayed by the participants depend on the situations or the context in which they find themselves and that they have the capability to quickly switch identity as the environment changes. Similar views were echoed by participants in a study by Nowicka (2006) who studied migrants holding dual identity. They reported that they felt uncomfortable when questioned what identity they identified with more because both identities mattered to them. Identities shift depending on the circumstances that the individuals find themselves in. They possess the capability to reflect behaviours linked to two or more national identities simultaneously, implying that these identities are embedded in each another.

Maintaining links with friends and relatives in their home country through the aspect of gift exchange enables migrants to construct transnational identity which is linked to enhanced wellbeing as perceived by the participants. Although this is achieved through great sacrifice (Williams, 2006) among this Kenyan group, this level of sacrifice is balanced by the happiness and the '*double joy*' they experience through words of blessings and gratitude from the recipients. Therefore the desire to maintain strong bonds with '*significant others*' present high expectations on migrants. The sense of fulfilment experienced necessitates the need for them to work harder to send more resources to Kenya, being fully aware that their expectations might not be met if their own employment status became unstable. It is evident in this study that migrants' transnational identity enhances their wellbeing in their country of settlement. The relationship between migrants' transnational identity and their wellbeing is evidenced through personal satisfaction, personal freedom and participants' satisfaction with life's domain.

This implies that it is important for the host government when dealing with migrants' integration policies to put into consideration issues related to maintaining links with home country and the practicing of cultural values

related to home country as this will lead to enhanced migrants' wellbeing and consequently to reduced costs of catering for their health services in the country of settlement.

It is also important that health practitioners are made aware of the importance of migrants maintaining their cultural values in as far as their wellbeing is concerned. This will enable them to give migrants room to observe their ethnic values, thereby enhancing their wellbeing.

Although this study is based on Kenyan migrants in the UK, some of the findings also relate to other minority ethnic groups. This is because some indicators of transnational identity, for instance, travelling, sense of belonging, and remitting are common to migrant groups regardless of their home countries as studies (Lindley 2009, Haller and Landolt 2005, Levitt 2003) have shown. Linking the findings of this study to the work of Haller and Landolt (2005) shows that migrants usually maintain links with their home country in terms of travelling to visit, providing support which this study shows can be emotional, spiritual, physical and financial. Migrants' attachments to both the home and host countries are significant in their identity formations as evidenced by findings in this study and also by the work of Haller and Landolt (2005). Furthermore this study shows that transnational identity enhances migrants' wellbeing. The following chapter examines the conclusion and recommendations of this study.

CHAPTER7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter mainly focuses on the conclusion and recommendations for this study. These are examined under: a section on conclusion; on recommendations; a section on limitations of the study and suggestions for areas of further research linked to this study.

7.1 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The results of this study show that Kenyan migrants in the UK maintain links with their chronically ill relatives in Kenya through provision of support. This support is in the form of telephone calls, monetary, travelling to visit, text messages and sending friends and relatives who are travelling among others. Provision of support in this Kenyan group is perceived as a societal expectation, which blends with issues of responsibility, altruism, and reciprocity. It is through this that they construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity, which is exhibited among other things through mention of; *'I have two homes'*, *'having the best of worlds,'* *'home country'* and *'adopted country'*. As a result of maintaining links with *'significant others'* through provision of support, participants perceive that they experience wellbeing, reported as: happiness, joy, comfort, being valued and satisfaction when they maintain these links. This also enhances their sense of belonging and improves their level of integration in the UK.

The focus in terms of gift exchange in this study is on Kenyan migrants as senders while their chronically ill relatives in Kenya are receivers of the gift. The relationship between the senders and the receivers allows the exploration of what provision of support implies to the participants and it is evident that the participants benefit as it is reflected by the intrinsic rewards of *'feeling good'*, their ability to construct, nurture and maintain transnational identity and they

also achieve a change in status. The gifts provided by participants are perceived as very important in addressing medical and other needs of their chronically ill relatives. Furthermore through the same gifts, participants are in a position to meet their family and societal obligations. It is in acquiring these resources and having them reach into the hands of their chronically ill relatives that are important in maintaining transnational identity and through this consequently enhancing their wellbeing. In this case transnational identity is constructed through participants fulfilling societal expectations in Kenya while they reside in the UK. Additionally through community gatherings participants hold '*harambees*', which are fund-raising events and socialize which is a sign of keeping strong links with Kenya and hence reinforcing their Kenyan identity. This is especially evident through their use of foods and languages associated not only with Kenya their home country but also the UK, their host country during many of their social gatherings and as reported during the semi-structured interviews.

Studies on remittances have mostly studied the monetary element of it, and have additionally concentrated on the effects of remittances in the home countries of the migrants. This has overlooked wealth of information related to remittances that migrants are able to provide through their perceptions of how they acquire, why they send and how they send different forms of remittances including how this in turn impacts on different spheres of their lives in the host country. The results of this study have shown that remittances are not just about money. Migrants are able to provide different forms of support besides money and through this maintain very close relationships with family and friends in their home country while fulfilling their societal expectations. Additionally remittance sending as is evident in this study is embedded in elements of social obligation, reciprocity, service to God and personal satisfaction among others. Through remittances migrants' transnational identity is constructed which is perceived to enhance their wellbeing.

It is important that migrants are able to build, nurture and maintain different social relations in the host country, through which they are able to access social support. These are in the forms of family, church gatherings and community membership. While among migrants social relationships are usually taken as a coping strategy in the host country, evidence in this study has shown that involvement in social relationships goes beyond this line of thinking and it is linked to an enhanced sense of belonging. Migrants also perceive that the social relationships they maintain are linked to their settling down in the UK, which implies enhanced levels of integration in the host country. This is through friends and family already residing in the UK and originally from Kenya providing support in form of: finances, accommodation, and job search techniques. Besides, social relationships go beyond those set up within the ethnic boundaries, participants also make use of '*bridging bonds*' which are the social relationships they maintain outside their ethnic circles and which are equally important. For instance, relations constructed and maintained outside the Kenyan community opens up the participants to other cultures, with participants perceptions being that understanding the way others do things and why they do them enhances one's level of appreciating and valuing them even when the groups may differ in some ways. This implies that strong social relationships enhance one's sense of belonging, one's level of integration and as a result one's wellbeing. The construction, nurturing and maintenance of such social relationships among migrants require time and resources and it is evident that for many migrants as evidenced in this study, this is achieved under constrained circumstances, especially because of the kind of jobs that they do which demand long hours leaving little time for people to reaffirm their social relationships.

Transnational identity exists among migrants. They maintain strong links with their family and friends in their home countries. Through provision of support, migrants play a big role in the development of their home countries. As many perceive, their identity cannot be contained in a single nation whether the home

or the host because it spans borders. Through their descent, they feel attached to their home country and through their current residence they feel attached to the UK. As it is common with nation-state perspectives, where citizenship of migrants is evidenced through ceremonial events, migrants link their sense of belonging with this tangible proof of becoming British citizens and they speak highly of the naturalization ceremony and the accompanying host country's passport which greatly enhances their sense of belonging. For the migrants studied here however this choice presents them with a dilemma, for instance, because Kenya does not allow dual citizenship, they find it extremely difficult to deny their origins in favour of the British citizenship. Their desire is that the Kenyan government like other countries will wake up to the realization of the importance of allowing Kenyans abroad to participate in nation building through giving room to dual citizenship.

Transnational identity among migrants which enhance their settlement and sense of belonging in the UK is linked to their wellbeing and maintaining strong links with '*significant others*' in their home country is important in their process of integration into the host country. The perceptions of migrants are that transnational identity practices is part and parcel of their day to day lives. This means that in issues related to migrants' integration, the host government needs to give consideration to the multiple identities which they exhibit and understand that it cannot ignore the reality that these migrants cannot be considered only with what takes place within a given nation's borders because their identity spans national borders. Additionally their wellbeing is linked to their maintenance of these transnational links. This is important for both the government and the health professionals in the host country to put into consideration. Allowing migrants to have room to construct, nurture and maintain links with their countries of origin is one way of enhancing their integration and wellbeing in the host country. This is eventually beneficial not only to the migrants but also to the host country as well.

Although the original intentions of multiculturalism in the UK were good and accommodating of different cultures as asserted in this study, they are not adequate to address groups like the migrant group studied. This is because they have no considerations of transnational identity perspectives. They are therefore limited as a policy of migrants' integration. However, multiculturalism views form a good foundation for implementing policies related to transnational identity. There is need to go beyond multiculturalism and consider a policy that will accommodate transnational perspectives, thus making it relevant to migrants.

7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

- ◆ This study shows that for Kenyan migrants in the UK providing support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya and maintaining close links with friends and relatives in Kenya is a cultural norm that make them happy enhances their sense of belonging, and consequently their wellbeing while they reside in the UK. Drawing from these findings, it is important that health practitioners in the UK are aware of this cultural norm while providing health care services to Kenyan migrants. Allowing them room to practice their cultural values and consequently to maintain links with their relatives and friends in Kenya, means that they are able to meet social expectations and obligations, there by making them happy, valued, enhancing their status, and all this would result in improvements in their sense of belonging in the society and consequently enhance their wellbeing.
- ◆ The issue of migrants' integration in the host society as discussed in this study faces dispute in many countries. Those with a nation-state model view argue that migrants cannot be loyal to more than one country and so rejects the argument of transnational identity in matters of integration. On the other hand those with a transnational view hold that migrants' behaviour cannot be explained using only one nation-state,

because their identity spans borders. The results of this study show that practicing transnational identity is good for migrants. This is because when they identify with both their home country and their host country, their sense of belonging in the host country is enhanced and this helps to strengthen their level of integration in the host country. As this study shows, a nation-state model cannot adequately accommodate migrants given their identity. It is therefore important that governments in host countries consider transnational identity perspectives in their social integration policies and allow migrants to maintain multiple identities that exhibit their loyalty to both their home and host country. It is evident through this study that migrants have the capability to maintain such multiple identities simultaneously.

- ◆ Additionally it is evident in this study through the perceptions of the participants that migrants would want to participate in the nation building of both their home and their host countries. This is important given that their identity is stretched across borders. One of the ways they perceive this would be possible is through acquiring dual citizenship. Migrants are usually left struggling in their decisions when either of the country allows dual citizenship while the other one does not. It is important that states' policies relating to migrants for both the sending and the receiving countries allow their citizens abroad to hold dual citizenship.
- ◆ Transnational identity is a resource that migrants make use of to make their lives and those of the people they love comfortable. It is through the transnational social field that the lives of migrants construct through their maintenance of links with their home country while in the host country that this resource is created. Transnational identity is part of what migrants rely on to maintain resilience while in the host country. Through it, they are able to bounce back after facing difficulties

presented in their lives in terms of coming into contact with cultures that differ from theirs and which at times are not accommodative enough. What migrants are therefore involved in is a way of life embedded in their day to day lives and which presents an important resource that the host government ought to tap into and to utilize in order to create an environment that enables different cultures to live in harmony. This will in the long run be beneficial both to the host government and to the migrants.

- ◆ Migration policies should not be deterrent especially when this is done to specific groups of migrants. The current migration policies in the UK are aimed at making it not only hard but also impossible for migrants from the third world countries like Kenya to migrate and live in the country. Additionally, the requirements necessary to naturalize in the UK are equally deterrent and greatly reflect earlier assimilation theories of integration. This is for instance the case with requirements to take English tests and to acquire a given level of integration in the community before one's application to be a citizen can be considered. This happens besides the high levels of fees that migrants have to meet to have their applications processed. As many of the participants suggested, it is important that this system is reconsidered and made easier for migrants not only to understand but also to achieve as this would enhance instead of limiting their sense of belonging in the host country.
- ◆ Enabling migrants to secure jobs that relate to their qualifications and experience is one way of ensuring that they are able to afford ample time to construct and nurture their transnational identity, through social and community gatherings, which is crucial for their wellbeing. Policies of integration in the host country should therefore work towards removing barriers that hinder migrants' qualifications in their home country not to be recognized in terms of acquiring professional jobs in the host country.

Furthermore discrimination during job interviews on the basis of skin colour should be avoided, while language and/ accent competence should be carefully considered depending on the type of job that one is applying for.

7.3 LIMITATIONS RELATED TO THE STUDY

- ◆ In this study, women were overrepresented which may have led to skewed findings. There were 70% females and 27% males for the survey; 70% females and 30% males for the semi-structured interviews. This may be attributed to a number of factors: in many Kenyan community events, women are usually more than men and since these were the events from where many of the participants were recruited, this may be one of the reasons for this overrepresentation; additionally, I being a female would mean that this had an influence in that the tendency of approaching women when recruiting was higher than that of approaching men; another likely reason for this, is that in Kenya caring for ill relatives is normally done by women, this would therefore mean that more women than men were able to meet the two most important criteria of having ill relatives in Kenya and regularly providing support to them. In a study of sending remittances to Somalia, Lindley (2009) found that more men than women were involved in sending, this is linked to cultural expectations among the Somali, where men are the bread winners.
- ◆ Christians are overrepresented in this study. Ninety seven percent (97%) of the participants in the survey were Christians. One of the likely explanations for this is my Christian faith. Although it was not one of the criteria of selection in this study, I being a Christian would mean that I most likely approached Christians to participate in this study. Additionally most of the community events among Kenyans are usually linked to Christianity. These being the events from where most of the participants

were recruited means that Christians were more. Another reason for this could also be the high rate of prevalence of Christianity in Kenya, where more than 80% of the population are said to be Christians and Kenyans usually link most of their day to day lives with Christianity as is evident in this study where provision of support is viewed as a service to God.

- ♦ Majority of the participants in this study were first generation Kenyan migrants in the UK. This could partly be linked to the factor that increased migration from Kenya is a recent phenomenon of the 1990s. This implies that those working and able to provide are mainly the parents while their children could mainly be pursuing education.

7.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

- ♦ The findings in this study have revealed that transnational identity positively impacts on migrants' wellbeing, and wellbeing is closely linked to health issues. This implies there is a likely link between migrants' transnational identity and health. This area warrants further research to establish whether such links exist.
- ♦ Furthermore with much arguments levelled around the issue of whether transnational view of migration means an end to the nation-state model, it is important that more empirical study is carried out in this area. This may reveal more on how the working relationship of the nation-state and the transnational view of incorporating migrants needs to be set up. Additionally, this may give more insight on how nations should build upon the foundation of multiculturalism which in this study is viewed as a good foundation of migrants' incorporation in the host country especially when multiculturalism is utilized with its original intentions of curbing racism as the guiding principle.

- ◆ Research on how societies are fairing has in the past focused on levels of income, in terms of Gross Domestic product. As a result most studies have concentrated on how people are doing financially in order to establish their wellbeing. This line of thinking is slowly changing with studies establishing that after a given level of income, people's happiness does not increase as income increases. The focus now is on people's subjective wellbeing, determined not only by income levels but also by other socio-economic factors. How happy people perceive they are, is one of the elements of subjective wellbeing. Migrants in this study perceive that they are happy and satisfied when they provide support and maintain links with their families and friends in their host countries. It is important to consider people's voice concerning their wellbeing through their reports of how happy they perceive to be. This means that government integration policies geared towards enhancing integration should give room to migrants' voices concerning how they construct their own wellbeing in their day to day lives as this would result to enhanced wellbeing which would be beneficial not only to the migrants and their relatives but also to the host country. This is evidenced by the results of this study and more empirical research needs to be carried out in this area.

- ◆ Religion is important for many migrants and as the results of this study show, it is embedded in their construction, nurture and maintenance of their transnational identity. It is however important to research on how transnational religious values are carried out and their effects on migrants' lives in both home and host countries. Furthermore the link between transnational identity and religious practices of migrants requires to be investigated, because there are claims (Levitt, 1996) that some current migrants are more likely to identify with their home country religion first and then with the nationality of their home country.

- ◆ With evidence in this study showing that migrants' remittances are not just money, which is mirrored by other scholars Levitt (1996), there is need for more research focusing on the social issues related to remittances. Such a research may reveal important information especially if it focuses on how lives are affected in both the sending and the receiving countries, by the different socially related remittances that migrants engage in.
- ◆ Since the participants of this study were mostly first generation migrants, given that Kenyan migration to the UK heightened in the 1990s, it is important that research is carried out to study the perceptions of second generation migrants in relation to their identity construction in the host country.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: GLOSSARY

Harambee: These are events which are commonly organized and carried out by community members in order to pull resources together to accomplish a given community project. A very common practice in Kenya and one that Kenyan migrants in the United Kingdom (UK) have continued to embrace with similar objectives. When these events are organized and carried out by the migrants while in the United Kingdom (UK) their intentions are either to accomplish a common goal based either in the United Kingdom (UK) or in Kenya, their home country.

Ngwataniro: This is popularly known as a fellowship in English. They are events that are usually organized by Christians besides the normal Sunday services for teachings and encouragements. Ngwataniro is used here to refer to such meetings when they are held to purposely pray and strengthen the family of a chronically ill relative in Kenya.

Nyama choma: This refers to Kenyan style barbeque. It refers to meat roasted the Kenyan way. Meat roasting usually in open fire is very common in Kenya and especially among men. This trend is equally common among Kenyan migrants in the United Kingdom (UK), community and church groups usually organize for what they call 'goat eating events' where nyama choma is usually in plenty. Such events are usually organized during the summer season while in the United Kingdom (UK) while they run all the year round in Kenya depending on family and community; however they are very frequent during the Christmas period.

Royco: This refers to one of the most commonly used food spice from Kenya. Many migrants usually carry it along while they visit the country. It is

not unusual to find many who have travelled carrying as many of tins of roycos as possible in order to share with friends and family who had not travelled.

Wazee hukumbuka: This term refers to when people familiar with an event that happened in the past revisit the issue and discuss through it. It is especially associated with exciting past events in which those discussing can relate to.

Kumagara ni kuhiga: This means that people who usually travel gain wisdom. Further explanation of this implies that for an individual who does not visit others, he/she will always think that the mother is the best cook. Visiting makes a person to realize that there is more to life than what he/she has always known.

APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORMS

a) Participant information sheet

**MIDDLESEX UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Health STUDIES ethics SUB-committee

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (PIS)

1. Study title

“I have two homes” An investigation into the transnational identity of Kenyan migrants in the United Kingdom (UK) and how it relates to their wellbeing.

2. Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

3. What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims to investigate the impact of transnational identity on the subjective wellbeing of Kenyan migrants in the UK. This is done by exploring the experiences of the Kenyan migrants in the UK through the act of providing support to their chronically ill relatives residing in Kenya. The study will also identify indicators of subjective wellbeing related to transnational identity. This study will explore the impact of transnational identity on subjective wellbeing.

Transnational identity is a way of living that characterises current migrants, and which reflects their desire, and longing of association with the way of life and

the place of their home country while at the same time upholding new roles acquired in the host country. Transnational identity therefore denote hybrid, which is the use of cultural aspects drawn from two or more nations in the day-to-day life – the two nations here being Kenya and the UK.

This enables migrants to retain links with their country of origin. Due to this, people are not confined to a single nation but extend beyond the nation, socially, economically and also politically. This is referred to as having transnational identities. The study will therefore undertake to answer questions concerning; forms of support provided to relatives, what support means to the migrants, what motivates the migrants to provide support and issues about identity.

4. Why have I been chosen?

My study has three parts to it. You may participate in any or all of the parts. Your consent will be requested each time you are asked to participate in this research.

a) Survey questionnaire

You have been chosen for a survey because you are a Kenyan living in U.K, for a minimum of 6 months, you have chronically ill relatives in Kenya and you provide support to them. The number of people to be included in this survey is 50 - 100 participants. You may be one of them.

b) Interviews

You have been chosen for an interview because you are a Kenyan living in U.K. for a minimum of 6 months, also because you have chronically ill relatives in Kenya and you provide support to them. A minimum number of 20 Kenyans meeting these criteria will be chosen to be interviewed. You may be one of them.

c) Observations

Alternatively you may have been chosen because you are taking part in a fundraising event in aid of a relative who is chronically ill in Kenya or in a prayer meeting (also called fellowship) in support of a chronically ill relative in Kenya.

5. Do I have to take part?

You have the freedom to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect you in any way.

6. What will happen to me if I take part?

a) Survey

I will request you to complete a simple self administered questionnaire which will take approximately 20 minutes.

b) Interviews

I will request you to provide information to help me answer research questions similar to the following; 1. What form of support do you send to your chronically ill relatives? 2. How often do you send support to your ill relatives? 3. What does support provision mean to you? 4. How does the support you provide affect you? This will be done during an interview which I will conduct and it will take approximately 45 minutes. I will request you to allow me to record the interview using a tape recorder so that I can have a record of all the details of the interview.

c) Observations

If you are taking part in a fundraising or a prayer meeting I will request you to allow me to make observations of the proceedings of the events and make notes. The event leader will outline what my study is about and ask you to complete the consent form which I would have left on your chair. If any member of the event declines to give consent, I will not go ahead with the observation. If everyone consents I will collect the forms before the start of the meeting.

7. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no disadvantages or risks for taking part in this study.

8. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There are no direct benefits to those of you who take part in this study. However, the study will help to deepen the understanding of the provision of support by Kenyan migrants in U.K. to chronically ill relatives in Kenya. It is hoped that the study will develop a theory of transnational health which will indicate how the construction of migrants' transnational identities through the provision of support to relatives in their country of origin contributes to their wellbeing. The results are expected to be made available to health service providers and social policy makers to help them provide more effective health services to migrants in UK.

9. Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information that is collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and will comply with the Data Protection Act 2003. Any information about you which is used will have your name and address removed so that you cannot be recognised from it and it will be as accurate as possible. This information will not be used for any other purpose other than for this study. Information will be stored in locked filing cabinets and computers which will be used to store information will be password protected.

10. What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this research will be published as a PhD (doctoral) thesis; they will also be publicized through relevant seminars and conferences and broadcasted on the African TV channels and in the Kenyan Website (www.misterseed.com). You can request the summary of the project by emailing me using the address below.

11. Who has reviewed the study?

This study was reviewed by the Health Studies Ethics Sub-Committee (HSESC), School of Health and Social Sciences at Middlesex University and permission was granted to conduct it.

12. Contact for further information

Jane Wangaruro

Middlesex University

Tel. 0208411 5281; jane4@mdx.ac.uk

Prof. Irena Papadopoulos

Middlesex University

Tel. 0208411 6626

Email; R.Papadopoulos@mdx.ac.uk

Thank you for taking part in this study.

As a participant, you will be given a copy of the information sheet and a signed consent form for you to keep.

b) Consent form – Semi-structured interviews

Centre Number:

Study Number:

Participant Identification Number:

I agree to take part in the above study.

CONSENT FORM

Interviews

“I have two homes” An investigation into the transnational identity of Kenyan migrants in the United Kingdom (UK) and how it relates to their wellbeing.

Name of Researcher: Jane Wangaruro

Please

initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet datedfor the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that my interview may be taped and subsequently transcribed
4. I agree to take part in the above study.

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Name of person taking consent (if different from researcher)	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher;

c) Consent form- Observations

Centre Number:

Study Number:

Participant Identification Number:

I agree to take part in the above study.

CONSENT FORM

Observations

"I have two homes" An investigation into the transnational identity of Kenyan migrants in the United Kingdom (UK) and how it relates to their wellbeing.

Name of Researcher: Jane Wangaruro

Please

initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet datedfor the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that the event in which I will be participating will be observed and notes of the proceedings taken
4. I agree to take part in the above study.

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Name of person taking consent (if different from researcher)	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher;

APPENDIX 3:

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL LETTER



**Middlesex
University**

School of Health and Social Sciences
The Archway Campus, Furnival Building
10 Highgate Hill, London N19 5LW

Date 20 June 2007

Dear Jane

Re: Jane Wangaruro (446) *'Providing support to chronically ill relatives in Kenya: An investigation into the Kenyan Migrants' transnational identities and how these contribute to their wellbeing.'* Category A2 Supervisors: Gina Copp & Rena Papadopoulos

Thank you for the response which adequately answers the ethics committee's queries. As a result of this, I am pleased to give your project its final approval. Please note that the committee must be informed if any changes in the protocol need to be made at any stage.

I wish you all the very best with your project. The committee will be delighted to receive a copy of the final report.

Yours sincerely

Dr John M Foster

Chair of Ethics Sub-committee (Health Studies)

APPENDIX 4: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE AND GUIDE QUESTIONS FOR THE SEMI- STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS.

a) SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

"I have two homes" An investigation into the transnational identity of Kenyan migrants in the United Kingdom (UK) and how it relates to their wellbeing.

Introduction

You are being invited to take part in a survey by filling in this questionnaire. A brief summary of this study is given below to make you understand why the research is being done. You are free to decide whether or not to take part in the study and your choice of not taking part will not affect you in any way. This survey is anonymous, therefore you do not need to write your name or address anywhere in the questionnaire.

About this survey

The purpose of this research is to study transnationalism, which means the interactions which link people across borders of nation-states even though they are long distances apart. This is made possible by the flow of people, ideas and goods between nations. This study will look at the relationship between the support provided by Kenyan migrants living in the U.K. to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya and their view of how this is related to their relatives' health and wellbeing. A major aim is to establish how Kenyan migrants' transnational identities viewed through provision of support, impacts on their own health and wellbeing in U.K.

About you

1. Do you have ill relative/s in Kenya?

Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you provide support to your ill relative/s in Kenya?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If the answers to question 1 and 2 is YES please complete the rest of the questionnaire, if the answers are NO to both questions 1 and 2 or to either of them, please return the questionnaire to me without completing the rest of it. – Thank you.

3. Are you

Male ☐ Female ☐

4. What is your age range? (TICK ONE)

18 – 25 ☐ 26 – 35 ☐ 36 – 45 ☐ 46 – 55 ☐ 56 – 65 ☐ 66 – 75 ☐
75+ ☐

5. What is your religious affiliation? (TICK ONE)

Protestant ☐ Christian Orthodox ☐
Anglican ☐ Islam (Muslim) ☐
Catholic ☐ Any other; please specify: _____

6. What describes best your marital status? (TICK ONE)

Married ☐ Separated ☐
Single ☐ Living with partner ☐
Divorced ☐ Any other; please specify _____
Widowed ☐

7. How many dependants do you have in the UK? (TICK ONE)

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5+ ☐ None ☐

8. What is your highest educational qualification? (TICK ONE)

I have no educational qualifications ☐ University degree ☐
O-levels/GCSEs/CSEs ☐ A-levels or equivalent ☐
Any other; such as vocational or professional qualifications
– Please specify _____

9. Are you; (TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

Full-time paid employment ☐ part-time paid employment ☐
Student ☐ Retired ☐
Self-employed ☐ Any other; please specify _____
In receipt of benefits ☐

10. Are you suffering from any illness yourself?

Yes ☐ No ☐ If yes please specify (Optional) _____

About providing support

11. Which of the illnesses below does your relative/s suffer from? (TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

Tuberculosis ☐ High blood pressure ☐ Diabetes ☐
Heart related ☐ Cancer ☐ Kidney failure ☐
Stroke ☐ Arthritis ☐ HIV ☐
Dementia ☐ Mental illness ☐ Asthma ☐
Any other; please specify _____

12. What is the relationship between you and the person receiving your support?

(TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

Mother ☐ Father ☐ Son ☐
Daughter ☐ Mother in law ☐ Father in law ☐
Husband ☐ Wife ☐ Sister ☐
Brother ☐ Sister in law ☐ Brother in law ☐

Uncle ☐ Aunt ☐ Grandfather ☐
Grandmother ☐
Any other, please specify_____

**13. What forms of support do you provide to your chronically ill relatives in Kenya?
(TICK ALL THAT APPLY)**

Money ☐ Letters ☐
Organizing prayers in UK ☐ Email ☐
Organizing prayers in Kenya ☐ Telephone calls ☐
Visiting your relative ☐
Medical equipment (wheel chair, inhalers, blood pressure monitoring device, etc) ☐
Asking friends who are going home to visit your relative ☐
Sending information materials about prevention, Management and treatment of illnesses ☐
Any other; please specify_____

14. How often do you send support to your relatives? (TICK THE ONE THAT MOST APPLY TO YOU)

Daily ☐ Weekly ☐ Fortnightly ☐ Monthly ☐
Other - Please state other combinations such as phoning weekly and money monthly_____

15. Do you have other relatives in Kenya, UK or elsewhere who also provide support to your chronically ill relatives in Kenya?

Yes ☐ No ☐

16. Has a fundraising event been organized either in Kenya or UK by you or others in support of your chronically ill relatives in Kenya?

Yes ☐ No ☐

17. Which of the factors below motivate you to provide support to your chronically ill relatives in Kenya? (TICK THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS)

Societal expectation ☐ For personal fulfilment ☐
Makes me feel better ☐ To reciprocate for favours done ☐
To keep links with my home country ☐
Any other; please specify_____

**18. What does the support you provide help them to achieve?
(TICK THE THREE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS)**

To pay hospital bills <input type="checkbox"/>	To afford balanced diet <input type="checkbox"/>
To afford transport to hospital <input type="checkbox"/>	To make them happy <input type="checkbox"/>
To enable them to do daily chores <input type="checkbox"/>	To buy medicine <input type="checkbox"/>
To help them have increased mobility <input type="checkbox"/>	To pay phone bills <input type="checkbox"/>
To afford daily care services <input type="checkbox"/>	To buy mobile phones <input type="checkbox"/>
To reduce uncertainties <input type="checkbox"/>	
To reduce the rate of similar occurrence in the family <input type="checkbox"/>	

To better manage the illness thus reduced need for emergency services ☐

Any other; please specify _____

19. What problems do you encounter when sending support to your chronically ill relatives in Kenya? (TICK THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT)

Unstable exchange rate ☐ support sent not used as intended ☐

High costs of sending ☐ sending less than required due to lack ☐

Sending some forms of support is difficult (e.g. wheel chair) ☐

Any other; please specify _____

20. The following question is designed to determine your perceptions of how providing support to your chronically ill relatives in Kenya affects your wellbeing in U.K. Each item is a brief statement in which you agree or disagree. Please rate each item on the scales provided (1= Agree, 2=neither agree nor disagree, 3=disagree).

Providing support to my chronically ill relatives in Kenya:

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| a) gives me personal satisfaction | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| b) keeps me connected to my relatives in Kenya | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| c) makes me poor | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| d) is an unnecessary burden | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| e) helps to save life | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| f) saves me from taking time off work to travel home | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| g) helps to promote my social life | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| h) helps me keep links with other Kenyans in U.K. | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| i) makes me happy | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| j) makes me angry | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| k) makes me proud | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| l) relieves my stress | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| m) makes me feel complete | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| n) removes my sadness | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| o) makes me feel frustrated | 1 | 2 | 3 |

p) is a societal expectation 1 2 3

q) prevents guilt feelings which I would have if I didn't 1 2 3

r) is a way of paying back for favours done in the past 1 2 3

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR TAKING TIME TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS SURVEY

b) Guide questions for the semi-structured interviews

“I have two homes” An investigation into the transnational identity of Kenyan migrants in the United Kingdom (UK) and how it relates to their wellbeing.

JW: Good morning **XX**, I am glad to have you participating in this interview. I will start by explaining to you briefly about this study. The aim is to investigate the issue of transnational identity among Kenyan migrants and how this influences their wellbeing while in the UK. Transnational identity refers to the way migrants combine aspects from two or more cultures in their day to day lives. I am exploring this through Kenyan migrants’ provision of support to their chronically ill relatives in Kenya. I am particularly interested in your views and I will therefore ask you a number of questions related to these issues. I would want you to be aware that you are free not to answer a given question and you can request to discontinue with the interview if you so wish. I will request you to allow me to tape record the interview because I cannot remember everything about the interview afterwards. Please sign for me this form (consent) as a proof that you have understood why I am doing the study and have agreed to participate.

JW: How are you generally feeling today?

PT: From the participants answer, I will be keen to pick up aspects of wellbeing or ill-being i.e. things to do with joy, happiness, fulfilment, contentment, empowerment, self-sufficiency, occupied or busy in life. Special interest will be given to where the participant links these aspects of wellbeing to issues that can be associated with Kenya. A good example is where a participant reports feeling happy after phoning a relative or attending a community event. In such cases, further probing will be done as this kind of data will be reflecting a connection between wellbeing and transnational identity.

JW: How do you maintain links with Kenya?

PT: This gives data about the transnational identity of the Kenyan migrants

JW: Do you provide support?

PT: The answer to this question will allow me to probe more depending on what the answer is. Using phrases like, tell me more about that..., why do you say that...? Etc may help to gather more data about this aspect

JW: What does providing support mean to you?

PT: The answer to this question will collect data related to how the participants understand support provision. What is support provision from the perspective of the participants? Aspects given related to maintenance of links with the home country will be noted and I will do further probing to explore these because this kind data reflects transnational identity.

JW: What illnesses is your relative/s suffering from?

PT: This will enable me to collect data on the different types of chronic illnesses that participants' relatives are suffering from.

JW: How do you think providing support to your ill relatives affects you?

PT: The answer to this question will reveal the perception of the participants on how providing support impacts on their lives. This will tap information on how providing support impacts on their promotion and maintenance of their transnational identity and whether this is linked to their wellbeing in any way.

JW: What enables you to continually provide support to your chronically ill relatives in Kenya?

PT: The answer given to this question will be useful in exploring the motivation behind the provision of support by the participants. Aspects of transnational identity through maintaining links and also of wellbeing while noted will be probed further to allow the participants to talk more and provide their

perceptions. Information on promotion and maintenance of transnational identity will be picked through the answers given here. Furthermore reasons linked to their cultural values will be important and probed.

JW: What does wellbeing mean to you?

PT: This will tap information about how the participants define wellbeing in their own view.

JW: How does the keeping of links with Kenya fit in with your wellbeing?

PT: This will mainly be to tap data linked to transnational identity. Mention of issues to do with keeping close contact with family and friends will be probed further to collect data on transnational identity.

JW: Do you feel a sense of belonging in the UK?

PT: This question will collect data which will reflect whether the participants' view themselves as integrated in the UK. Aspects mentioned when answering this will be probed further to establish participants' view of their level of integration in the United Kingdom (UK) and the factors that influence their level of integration.

JW: Was your coming to the UK easy?

PT: This will give the participant an opportunity to describe their migration process and the difficulties associated with it.

JW: How has been your settlement in the UK?

PT: Transnational identity is also about the process of incorporation into the country of settlement.

APPENDIX 5: DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE SURVEY AND SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS.

a) Demographic details of the survey participants

	Gender		Age		Marital status		Education attainment		Employment status	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Male	19	27.5								
Female	48	69.6								
Missing value	2	2.9								
Total	69	100								
18-25			0	0						
26-35			19	27.5						
36-45			32	46.4						
46-55			16	23.2						
56-65			2	2.9						
Total			69	100						
Married					44	63.8				
Separated					2	2.9				
Single					16	23.2				
Cohabiting					2	2.9				
Divorced					1	1.4				
widowed					3	4.3				
Missing value					1	1.4				
Total					69	100				
No qualification							1	1.4		
O-level/GCSE							19	27.5		
A-Level/Diploma							15	21.7		
University degree							33	48.8		
Missing value							1	1.4		
Total							69	100		
Full time Employment									37	53.6
Part time employment									15	21.7
Student									6	8.7
Benefits									3	4.3
Self employed									5	7.2
Other forms									3	4.3
Total									69	100

F-Frequency; %-Percentage

b) Demographic details of participants in the semi-structured interviews

	Gender		Marital Status		Ages		Education	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Male	6	30						
Female	14	70						
Total	20	100						
Married			15	75				
Single			4	20				
Divorced			1	5				
Total			20	100				
30-39					8	40		
40-49					8	40		
50-59					4	20		
Total					20	100		
O-Level/GCSE							3	15
A-Level/equivalent							5	25
Degree and above							12	60
Total							20	100

F-Frequency; %-Percentage

APPENDIX 6: PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Taylor, G., Wangaruro, J. and Papadopoulos, I. (2011), "*It is my turn to give*" Migrants' perceptions of gift exchange and maintenance of identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (forthcoming).

Wangaruro, J., Providing support to ill relatives in Kenya: An investigation into the Kenyan migrants' transnational identities and how these contribute to their wellbeing, Paper presented at the Postgraduate Summer Research Conference held at Middlesex University on 25th May 2007.

Wangaruro, J. (2002) The impact of Socio-economic characteristics and household attributes on child survival in Kenya. Unpublished dissertation, University of Pretoria.

APPENDIX 7: A SAMPLE OF AN INVITATION LETTER TO A 'HARAMBEE'/FUNDRAISING

MEDICAL FUNDRAISING FOR MRS (XXXX) ON (XX, XX) 2009

The (XXXX)'s family and the organizing committee would like to cordially invite you to a fundraising in aid of their mum who has been admitted in (XXXX) Hospital. Mrs. (X) (55) is the mum to (XX) (Mama XX) of (XX) UK, (XX) of (XX) UK and (XX) of (XX) UK. She was taken ill on the beginning of March 2009 and admitted to (XX) hospital for three weeks. She continued ailing and was admitted at the (XX) hospital on the 23rd XX 2000 into the high dependency unit for 3 weeks and onto the medical ward for four weeks. After several tests she was diagnosed with cancer. She had her first cycle of chemotherapy and her kidneys failed. She is still undergoing dialysis and continues cancer treatment at the (XX) hospital and the bill is now over 1.6 million Kenya shillings (over £10,000). Therefore we will be holding a fundraising in aid of the above on Saturday (XX) 2009 at:

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX UK

Your prayers support and generous contributions are highly appreciated. You can also deposit your donations:

Mrs. (XX) Nationwide Bank,
Sort Code XX, Account XX.

RSVP: XX, Tel. XX or XX, Tel. XX

Any queries you can contact me through this email or on the phone

Yours Faithfully

XXXX

APPENDIX 8: PICTURES OF SOME KENYAN SYMBOLS

a) Nyama choma – Kenyan Barbeque and roasted sweet corn, during one of the 'goat eating events' held by Kenyan migrants in the UK.



b) Some of the items that Gitonga, one of the participants carried from Kenya after travelling to visit his chronically ill father.

